

Kashmir:

The Unveiling of Truth

Hashim Qureshi



Dr. Srinivas Karanwar
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KASHMIR: THE UNVEILING OF TRUTH !

A Political Analysis Of Kashmir

by

Hashim Qureshi

Chairman

Jammu Kashmir Democratic Liberation Party



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A Brief History of Kashmir

*I could know how to remove the southern clouds,
I could know how to dewater all the oceans;
I could know how to cure an ailing leper,
I cannot make an illiterate understand the truth..*

LAL DED

KASHMIR: THE UNVEILING OF TRUTH !

A Political Analysis Of Kashmir

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This volume is dedicated to

- those who, in their innocence, are consumed with fantasies of Kashmir
- those who have been driven out of their homes
- one thousand and two hundred million people of the sub-continent who are struggling to wriggle out of poverty, hunger and affliction, and the fear of a destructive war looming large over their heads
- the mountains, rivers, springs, streams, fountains, gardens and snow-clad peaks of Kashmir
- my life partner Zaibu'n-Nisa who, notwithstanding the pain of separation from her parents, continues to be my closest sympathiser for last 15 years of my life in exile, supporting and encouraging me in my intellectual pursuits
- those of my associates who stood by my side in the course of my stormy political journey and extended their assistance and support to overcome my personal problems
- my mother, Saeeda Begum, who braved untold privations owing to my father, my brothers, and my deep involvement in Kashmir politics and being unable to withstand the sight of our sufferings and imprisonments, breathed her last 14 years ago.
- my father, M. Khaleel Qureshi, who bore with tremendous fortitude many sufferings like the untimely death of my mother, anguish of my turbulent political career made controversial, and ceaseless concern for the rest of the family.
- late Maqbul Bhat, the martyr, who inculcated political sensibility in me and taught me the lesson of basing political analysis on truth and realism.

Hashim Qureshi

Apri 17, 1998

FOREWORD

Abid Hassan Minto

President

(Supreme Court Bar Association Pakistan 1997-98)

A considerable part of my professional life as a lawyer comprises as a defense counsel in cases against so-called traitors, spies and enemy agents. Among others, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Ghous Bakhsh, Bizanjo, Abdullah Mengal, Khair Bakhsh Mari, Muhammad Qaswar Gardezi, Habib Jalib, Najm Sethi, Ahmad Faraz, Chowdhury Fateh Muhammad, Masih-Ur-Rehman and now Zafaryab Ahmad, have been subjected to persecution for the crime of pursuing and voicing their own views, ideas and political ideologies at different times, and I had the honour of defending them. Of the above, the first seven were implicated along with some 45 others in what came to be known as the Hyderabad conspiracy case. A case was framed against them under the Pakistan Penal Code for crimes such as anti-national activity, conspiracy against the state, spreading hatred against the government etc. All of them were either political activists or intellectuals and writers. Indeed, their socio-political views were fundamentally different from the regime's leaders and also from some short-sighted and narrow-minded people who somehow mattered in the power structure of the country. It was this difference of views, in fact, which was the real basis of framing cases against distinguished persons.

Chowdhury Fateh Muhammad and Masih-Ur-Rehman were accused of their alleged role in the Kissan Conference Toba Tek Singh in 1970. Martial law was still in force at that time and the first ever general elections were round the corner. East Pakistan had not yet become Bangladesh. The Kisan Conference had been organized by the Pakistan Kisan Committee and National Awami Party (Bhashani), and had attracted about 150,000 people including peasantry, leftist political workers, intellectuals and labour unionists. Chowdhury Fath

Muhammad, the president of Kisan Committee was the moving spirit behind the conference, and he had been framed for the same reason. Masihu'z-Zaman of East Pakistan had been implicated in making an anti-martial law regime speech. The entire Assembly had joined its voice with his voice. A couple of police functionaries became witnesses against him and the case of sedition and conspiracy to overthrow the lawfully established government was concocted on that basis. Ahmad Faraz, the poet, was arrested and detained for composing a poem against martial laws and the military regimes. Only recently, a criminal case was lodged against Zafaryab Ahmad - a professor, a journalist, an intellectual and a humanist. The charge against him is that he raised his voice against the existing anti-human social structure and that he had been working against bonded and child labour in various industries in our country.

The case set up against Hashim Qureshi and his five comrades was of the same character. Muhammad Maqbool Butt was also implicated in that case. He was the leader of Jammu and Kashmir National Liberation Front, and the other accused were his comrades. National Liberation Front advocated the cause of independence of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and as such, rejected both Indian and Pakistani occupation of State territory. Armed struggle was an important part of their political agenda. In pursuance of this political mission, Hashim Qureshi and his associate Ashraf Qureshi hijacked an Indian Airlines plane while on its routine flight from Srinagar to Jammu in 1971. Hijacking of airplanes was one of the fighting strategies of freedom movements in those days. In carrying out the decisions of their organization and in response to the instinct of youth psychology, adventurism and the dream of independence, this particular hijacking had been planned by the two Qureshis. Equipped with fake pistols and hand grenades, they hijacked the Indian aircraft forcing it to land at the Lahore airport. The people of Pakistan gave them a rousing reception. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who at this point of time was associated with the martial law regime of General Yahya Khan, arrived in Lahore and drove straight to the airport to receive the heroes of hijacking. Television and print media in Pakistan gave them full coverage. Later on, after the aircraft was set on fire, and the hijackers came out of the airport, they were taken to the city in large procession. For quite some time until then, the Kashmir issue had remained in cold store. By this event, it was suddenly catapulted into the limelight.

This entire drama, however, was only short-lived. Pakistan government soon set up an inquiry commission for conducting a probe into the hijacking of the aircraft (Ganga) and its aftermath. Hashim Qureshi was detained. Following this, a case under Official Secrets Act,

the Enemy Agent Ordinance and the Pakistan Penal Code was registered against seven persons including the two hijackers. The proceedings continued for over 18 months. At that time Hashim Qureshi was hardly seventeen years old. Among the accused was Muhammad Maqbool Butt, a journalist, leader of National Liberation Front and a pioneer of Kashmir Freedom Movement against whom death sentence had been pronounced by the court in Indian Held Kashmir, which was actually executed some years later by the Indian authorities after Butt was apprehended while he was in the Kashmir State. Also amongst the accused were; Ghulam Muhammad Lone who had a big carpet business in Lahore and Karachi; Mir Abdul Qayyum and Mir Abdul Mannan, two brothers, who had a successful business in Karachi and Dr. Farooq Haider, a medical doctor practicing in Rawalpindi. Maqbool Butt, Hashim, Ashraf and Lone hailed from Kashmir valley while Mir brothers and Dr. Farooq Haider were from Jammu. Later on Dr. Haider became an approver and was struck off the list of accused persons. However, he remained interned till the case was finally disposed.

The case was heard by a two-member special tribunal with Justice Chowdhury Muhammad Yaqub Ali Khan, later on the Chief Justice of Pakistan, as its chairman. He was at that time a judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The other member of the Tribunal was Mr. Abdul Qadir Shiekh, at that time a judge of the Sindh High Court. Mukhtar Ahmad Junejo, who had been a judge of West Pakistan High Court was the prosecution counsel. The court held its first session in Rawalpindi where the accused were produced. While I appeared to plead the case of Hashim Qureshi, Ejaz Husain Batalavi and Abdul Basit advocates, appeared for the other accused persons.

The accused, immediately on entering the court room for the first time, spoke of oppressive treatment meted out to them by the police and recounted stories of how they were tortured and kept in the solitary confinement in the Shahi Qila of Lahore. Marks of torture were visible on their bodies. They refused to endorse their "Confessions" alleging that the police had elicited these through torture in the course of their interrogation. They said they had never given the statements and were forced to sign the papers.

The case of prosecution depended, to a large extent, on the statement of the approver and the confessions. Counsel for the accused, were above to establish that all the statements produced before the court had been elicited as a result of torture by police and oppression, and long solitary confinement of the accused. Legally speaking, these statements could not be admitted as evidence. The prosecutors tried to rely upon

news items appearing in the India and Indian Held Kashmir. However, it was clear that such documents did not qualify as evidence unless one providing information deposed about the veracity of the news or produced an affidavit and offered himself for cross examination by the court. The prosecutor had asserted that the accused had set the hijacked aircraft on fire at Lahore airport at the behest of the Indian intelligence agencies in order to provide India a pretext for terminating permission to Pakistani airplanes to fly over Indian airspace while ferrying between East and West Pakistan. The Indian government actually terminated the over-flying arrangement soon after.

The accused produced the former President of Azad Kashmir, late K.H. Khurshid as their witness who testified that it was in his presence that the superintendent of police of Lahore had provided petrol to Hashim Qureshi and implored him to set the aircraft on fire. The Superintendent had also ordered the fire fighting force to be ready for action. The television crew of Lahore TV was invited to record the incident. The accused also produced other witnesses and evidences in support of their defense. For example it was established that the whole scheme of hijacking had been finalized in Rawalpindi and Peshawar by the leaders of National Liberation Front. Hashim, who had been staying with his sister in Peshawar before the actual hijacking, was given proper training there to undertake the mission. Later on he re-entered Indian Held Kashmir. There he developed contacts with Ashraf. When the hijacked plane landed in Lahore, the only demand made by the hijackers was that they be put into contact with their leaders, that is to say Maqbool Butt and others so that they would seek further instructions from them. Liberation leaders were in Pakistan at that time and were in contact with the Pakistani officials. The crew and the passengers were freed only on the instructions of these leaders. The hijackers permitted two senior army officers to enter the aircraft and carry out a thorough examination of the mail bags and other documents relating to the Indian Border Security Force which the aircraft had been carrying.

The interesting point is that the Special Tribunal considered the inception of JK National Liberation Front and the politics of its leadership as a natural reaction to Kashmiri's subjugation by India. The Tribunal acquitted all but Hashim of the main charge of conspiracy. It called them freedom fighters, however, a 17-year old Hashim, who had been acting at the behest of the very same freedom fighters (including Maqbool Butt) was pronounced guilty.

The Unveiling of Truth

5

The hijacking of Ganga occurred at a time when Indo-Pak relations were passing through a critical phase. The results of 1970 elections had not been accepted by the military regime, as well as the leadership of political and religious parties in West Pakistan. The fact that those in power had, and continued to avoid establishing a democratic order, and that East Pakistan had been made into a virtual vassal state had created a sense of disenchantment and alienation among the people at large in that part of the country. That a strong political turmoil was in the offing, was obvious. This turmoil which assumed the nature of a struggle for liberation had the opposition through the use of muscle power. In a scenario of civil disobedience, armed struggle and military action, India would not remain a silent spectator. After all Indo-Pak relations had never been cordial.

When India imposed a ban on Pakistan's flights over Indian airspace following the hijacking episode of her aircraft, it directly influenced Pakistan's military action in East Pakistan and subsequently the course of Indo-Pak war. The martial law regime was forced to change its stance. Now the freedom fighters became traitors and enemy agents in the regime's eye. The demand of independence by National Liberation Front and unity of both parts of the State of Jammu and Kashmir (original State) including Gilgit and Baltistan, as independent region was declared as part of enemy's plan. The region of Gilgit and Baltistan, over which Pakistani rulers have established its control, is of great strategic importance being a link with China through the Silk Route. Disputing Pakistan's control over this area is considered a serious offence. (It is a different story that recently a full bench of Azad Kashmir High Court unanimously decided that Gilgit and Baltistan were part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and declared Pakistan's continued occupation of this area as unlawful. It is interesting to note that all political parties in Azad Kashmir including the (ruling) Muslim Conference, had agreed that Gilgit and Baltistan were part of the State. The appeal in the Azad Kashmir Supreme Court against this decision of the High Court was accepted only on the ground of lack of jurisdiction of the High Court. No decision was pronounced on the core issue.)

In view of critical political conditions prevailing at that time and also in view of the separation of East Pakistan, the government of the day framed the conspiracy case under special law and obtained a decision from the Special Tribunal which stated that although JK National Liberation Front and its leadership has been genuinely struggling for the liberation of Kashmir under the sentiment of freedom, yet in the hijacking of the airliner by Hashim Qureshi and in its burning, there was a role played by the Indian intelligence agencies. The other hijacker,

namely Ashraf Qureshi, was declared a freedom fighter. This very decision was conveyed by the government of the day in Pakistan to international organizations like IATA and ICAO in order to prove that the conspiracy of hijacking and burning of the Indian aircraft was a part of India's plan to block Pakistan's air passage over Indian sky. However these organizations did not rely on the Tribunal's verdict.

The Special Tribunal awarded Hashim Qureshi 14 years of rigorous imprisonment. Other accused were absolved of the main charges and were awarded nominal punishment for some minor offences. I filed an appeal against this decision on behalf of Hashim Qureshi. The government also filed an appeal against the decision of the Tribunal soliciting that Hashim Qureshi be given the death punishment under Enemy Agent Ordinance for being an enemy spy. The hearing began after several years and Hashim continued to languish in jail. The Appellate Bench comprising three judges of the Supreme Court examined selective parts of Tribunal's decision and heard my objections for several days. (The Tribunal's decision filled more than 400 pages). I had not yet begun my arguments on the case when the court asked Attorney General for Pakistan whether he wanted to insist on government's appeal against Hashim. The Attorney General withdrew the appeal after consulting the government. Hashim's term was reduced and he was set free after seven years of imprisonment (total period of imprisonment was nine years and three months).

Young Hashim Qureshi's spirit for freedom was not dampened by having been put behind the bars. Instead, he became more committed to his cause. In prison, he kept himself busy with reading literature on politics, freedom movements and Kashmir. With the passage of time, he became more serious-minded and began to better understand the issues relating to the freedom of his motherland, progress and prosperity of her people and the sufferings to which they were subjected. He understands that his motherland has been held a hostage by both India and Pakistan without having any concern for the freedom of her people and their welfare and that all that these two countries are interested in is their respective territorial aggrandizement.

Within Kashmir, a vast section of adventurists too had held the common people as their hostage. The foremost is the group that raises the slogan of jihad on the basis of religion. They have become a source of destroying the age-old communal harmony between the Muslims and the Hindus of Kashmir. At the same time, they have unleashed a reign of terror and oppression on the peace-loving people of Kashmir. There is also the dreadful story of atrocities of severe nature committed by Indian

security forces, molestation of women and desecration of religious places. No justification is acceptable for perpetrating abuse of human rights in this age of reason. Hashim Qureshi demands that the struggle for freedom should not be turned into a war against the very people and their culture for whose freedom the struggle had been launched. He cites the examples of Palestine and South Africa where after a protracted struggle for freedom and sacrifices of thousands of lives, the parties ultimately recognized the principle of peaceful coexistence.

When Hashim Qureshi examines Kashmir question in the context of Indo-Pak relations, he arrives at the conclusion that peace and prosperity cannot be brought to the region without conceding the right of self-determination to the people. Maintaining large armies and war apparatus, and perpetually living in a state of antagonism, are some of the factors which create obstacle bitter political antagonism, safeguarding the minorities especially in India, these are some of the conditions which create obstacles in our way to overcome backwardness and communal prejudices. Unless such obstacles are removed, democracy cannot be strengthened.

Hashim Qureshi does not speak of emotive politics; he takes recourse to reason and far-sightedness. His articles are aimed at promoting secularism, democracy and tolerance in Kashmir which would, in the final analysis, open the highway to progress in the sub-continent. However, as of today, Hashim continues to live in Holland along with his caring wife and children as a refugee struggling for his unfortunate compatriots. Born in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, he is not a Pakistani national. He does not consider himself an Indian national because he considers India's occupation of Kashmir as forcible. He calls himself a citizen of Jammu and Kashmir, a claim accepted neither by India nor by Pakistan. He wants to liberate himself from hostage-like situation and struggles to liberate all the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The present essays are a part of the same struggle.

Abid Hasan Minto
Lahore, October 1997

INTRODUCTION

To the intellectuals, politicians and bureaucrats of India and Pakistan and, in particular to the political circles, militants and the common people in Kashmir, I want to convey that in my political life I have always stuck by the concept that my efforts should lead to solution to problems. Resolution of problems carries the condition of reaching the bottom of the truth. This has been the guiding principle for my articles. I have taken up my pen on Kashmir issue only when I am fully equipped with the facts of the subject matter. Evidently some of the truths stated in these articles may not be liked by some readers. I want to make it clear that essentially I have deep love for human beings and humanism. Likewise, I deeply love my motherland and my fellow compatriots. My heart aches when I imagine their distress and their pain. If I say that all the articles compiled in this volume are in fact a reflection of my inner pain and tears, it would not be an exaggeration. Consequently this volume should be read against that background. I have no enmity with anybody except those who want to exploit human sentiments by distorting opinions and ideologies; and, by projecting religion and jingoism, want to serve their ulterior motives. My only objective is to impress my readers to make some hard introspection by taking into account the realities, to assess these and then put them to some practical use. To what extent can I succeed in my objectives in this age of individualism and self-aggrandizement is a matter which only the future would decide. However, the past has proved me true in my analysis and observations. It is, therefore, the task of the critic to feel his own conscience; may be there is a voice within synchronising with what I am saying.

I was born in a middle class family in Srinagar, Kashmir. Born after three sisters, it was natural for my parents to desire that I should become a man of substance, a doctor, an engineer or a notable bureaucrat, only to enhance the social status of the entire family. But destiny and circumstances set forth a different agenda for me. Today I am going through the ownership of my own house and land.

Let me state that the pangs of exile are known only to those who have been forced by circumstances or other compulsions to flee from their homeland; a minute of life in exile is as expansive as long years at a stretch. I have been enduring these pangs for the last twenty-seven years for the sake of finding a solution to the Kashmir tangle and to relieve a thousand million people of the sub-continent from the fear of a destructive war. This period includes ten years of solitary confinement in Pakistani prisons for the crime of demanding independent Kashmir. As such whenever anybody is sent into exile from my homeland, it causes me deepest anguish and my voice of pain takes the shape of my writings on current situation in the sub-continent. I stick fast by the subject of love by abjuring hatred, to the truth by eschewing falsehood.

When I reached the age of adolescence, I began to understand that Kashmir politics was being keenly debated in private gatherings. A couple of months before I was born, Shiekh Muhammad Abdullah had been arrested in August 1953. This had resulted in a crisis in Kashmir politics. My father was associated with Political Conference. Usually, for the workers of political party, August 14 began with the slogan *Kashmir banega Pakistan* (Kashmir will become Pakistan), and fire crackers and posters marked the occasion. This was of much significance for a youngster like myself. Being an activist of Political Conference, my father was fully aware of the trends of opposition groups. There was a general feeling and a rumor in political circles in Kashmir that the chief of this party used to receive funds from the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs in Pakistan for making a noise and creating confusion among the younger generation of Kashmiris. It is doubtful whether that money ever reached ordinary workers of that party. Let me say in the passing that when the case of our hijacking the Indian aircraft was being heard in the court, late Pir Maqbool Gilani used to visit us in the court every week. He was also our defence witness. It was he who later on told us in full detail the stories of many Kashmiri political leaders and the upper strata of political parties selling themselves to the agencies of the above mentioned ministry. Every Kashmiri knows what happened to the Political Conference and what tactics its chief adopted. Looking in retrospect, I find that late Mohiud-Din Kara sacrificed one whole generation of Kashmiri Muslim youth at the altar of his selfish interests, while on the other hand, his clan, raising the slogan of accession to India, enjoyed the comforts of power and authority.

As I grew in years, I began to realise that political leadership in Kashmir was hardly committed to the cause it sponsored; theirs was only the politics of expediency. They turned out to be the masters in the art of double-speak. The result of this state of affairs was that Kashmiri youth

found itself bogged down by total confusion. In fact an entire generation was in a dilemma. The leadership could neither justify accession to India nor bring forth convincing arguments in support of Kashmir's accession to Pakistan on the basis of religion alone. The irony was that nobody ventured to raise the slogan of independence of Kashmir in any one of the five regions of Jammu and Kashmir State.

However, after the events of August 1953, Shiekh Muhammad Abdullah, whether in or out of jail, remained the unquestioned political heavyweight in Kashmir. It became his fashion to say something in Kashmir but give it a different interpretation when he was in New Delhi. The incident of the theft of the holy relic in Hazratbal shrine in 1962-63 gave me a major jolt and became crucial in shaping my political outlook with regard to constructing a picture of Kashmirian society of my dreams. I saw that many Kashmiri Pandits joined the wailing crowds of Muslims during the holy relic demonstrations. This reinforced my ideology of pluralism which I have been nurturing ever since. This approach reflects the strongest identity of the Kashmiris. As such, I grew up in an aura of strong Kashmiri nationalism.

Then came the news of Muhammad Maqbool Butt's escape from the Central jail in Srinagar. To us a new sun had risen on the horizon of Kashmir politics, and we chartered our political pilgrimage accordingly. We concentrated on the theory that the long-drawn enmity between India and Pakistan would not get diluted either by agreeing to India's claim of Kashmir as its integral part or by Pakistan's stand that Kashmir was its lifeline. We thought that a detente could be possible only when Kashmir remained independent. Accepting this as the only feasible and lasting solution, I chalked out my action plan for the future.

The episode of Ganga hijacking has made me the centre of attention for the Kashmiri youth. This story has been recorded at its proper place in this volume. However, it may be stated here that after having braved the oppression of imprisonment, I concentrated on finding a peaceful solution to the problems of my Kashmiri compatriots. It may be recalled here that Pakistani military intelligence, ISI, approached me in 1984 when I was the chairman of J&K Liberation Front in Pakistan and POK. The agency placed before me a plan under which I was to bring Kashmiri youth from the valley to Pakistan to receive training in arms and then go back to Kashmir with arms and foment armed insurgency in the valley. The agency offered me allurements. But knowing fully the disaster likely to overtake our youth if the dangerous adventure was accepted and the risk involved for the Kashmiri nation as a whole, I rejected the offer. The consequence of my rejection was that I had to flee

Pakistan along with my family and small kids and seek asylum in Europe. Looking in retrospect, I feel proud to have taken the right decision because I find that those Kashmiri leaders who had taken the oath of allegiance to Indian constitution in the past, and fell in the trap of the ISI, were instrumental in sending Kashmiri youth to their graves everywhere. And, in return for what ? -- destruction and devastation. Kashmiri community, unfortunately, is still remain steeped in the morass of utter confusion.

It must be stated in no ambiguous terms that I do not either believe in violence or succumb to any sentiment of hatred while looking for a solution to the problems. My perception and my approach are that by disentangling the Kashmir Gordian knot, not only will the people of Kashmir be given a new message but this will also break the chains of poverty, illiteracy and backwardness with which nearly twelve hundred million people of the sub-continent remain bound. India and Pakistan are spending billions of dollars in purchasing military hardware in order to boost their defence capabilities. If these enormous funds are spent for the development purposes, like education, health care and other plans, then of course, the entire sub-continent would find its destiny metamorphosed.

In the matter of faith, I have no doubt that all religions in the world teach love of mankind. Division of the country on the basis of religion, is like cutting ones own mother into pieces because it is the motherland where we are born. Those advocating division of Kashmir on the basis of religion are not only the enemies of my native land but are also the enemies of mankind. If we are to talk only in terms of division on the basis of religion and also act in that direction, then the entire world, including Islamic states, will have to be fragmented into tiny segments and ghettos only to re-enact the tragedy of the crusades to destroy one another. We have the examples of Algeria and Afghanistan before us. Both countries are inhabited by the people of the same faith (Islam) yet in each the people are at war with one another.

If we analyze the scenario of division of land on the basis of religion, two countries immediately invite our attention, namely, Israel and Pakistan. Both of them came into being on the basis of religion. Israel continues to be the source of turmoil for the last half a century leading to the killing and oppression and more problems for the Muslims. And of the other country, namely Pakistan, which was also born out of division of India on the basis of two nations theory, the question one may ask is - what did the Muslims gain from this division? The Muslims of the sub-continent got divided, and later on, the newly carved Islamic state got further sub-divided. If we do not take recourse to sentimentalism and

attempt a realistic analysis of the entire scenario, we shall find that the vast continent of 50 crores of Muslims remains fragmented into three parts with 15 crores in Bangladesh, 13 crores in Pakistan and 18 crores in India. If the sub-continent had not been partitioned on the basis of religion, there would have developed a magnificent Islamic power with tremendous influence world over. This huge Muslim population would have been living in peace and friendship with their compatriots of other faiths with as much love and amity as existed before the days of the British Raj. The economy of Bangladesh and Pakistan is dismal and disappointing. Pakistan is carrying the burden of more than forty-seven billion dollars in foreign debt with service charges and yearly repayment instalments consuming forty-two per cent of her annual budget. Pakistani industry offers no encouraging picture. Her industrial magnates, instead of insisting on transfer of technology or encouraging indigenous technologies remain hamstrung by foreign imports and local montage. On the political front, out of fifty years of independence, Pakistan has remained under martial law for thirty-one years, and during twenty years of so-called democracy, she has seen no fewer than fifteen Prime Ministers and three constitutions. All these are strong indicators of Pakistan's political instability.

Those who refuse to come out of their shell and have become advocates of division of our *madar bhum*i, Kashmir, on the basis of religion, to them I appeal to come out of their small world of make-believe and open their eyes in the broad world of mind-boggling scientific and technological advancement around them. It must be remembered that as long as people shut religion behind the bars of conservatism and dogmatism, the path of progress remains obscure. In India, the saints and sufis had understood Islam in its real and true form stressing on universal love and tolerance.

My work, *Kashmir: The Unveiling of Truth*, is now in your hands. I have already brought out three books on Kashmir situation, viz. *Saazishi Tehreek*, *Kashmir Amn ki Talash* and *Nar hai Kashmir*. These were published also in Pakistan. Apart from a large number of my compatriots, many interested persons in international circles have read these and appreciated my view point. I have tried to lift the veil from some of the truths about Kashmir affair which had hitherto remained concealed from the common man's sight.

In the work in hand, we have reproduced some material from above mentioned three books. Apart from that, the volume carries some of my press interviews, letters and articles. In regard to this fund, the reader will kindly note that as far back as 1990-1991, I had made certain

forewarnings and suggested solutions to the problems in Kashmir. But at that time the so-called leadership in Kashmir stirred up a storm of opposition against me. But today, the same people are drumming up the same set of apprehensions and solutions as I had suggested in 1990. I had stated that in the first place, guns should not have been taken up at all because this was not the age of guns. Secondly, now that the guns have been taken up, and whether the objective has or has not been achieved, the geopolitical situation demanded that the gun strategy be given up and changing the tactics, people be organized along the politics of non-violence. This was how the movement should have been conducted. Had the people concerned heeded my suggestion at that time, today the Kashmiri community would not present a picture of a house divided against itself. Scores of warring groups would not have surfaced nor the gun would have been used for personal vendetta or aggrandizement. None would have been branded as terrorist on the international plane.

I know that unraveling many knots in this volume may not please some emotional Pakistanis, Indians and Kashmiris. Truth is bitter but if solutions are looked for, then people can be saved from many problems and disasters. If these problems are not addressed in proper time, they tend to eat the vitals of society. Before hatred and prejudice turn cancerous, they must be eradicated by using the instruments of good-will and meaningful dialogue. Our disunity goes in the interests of only those external forces which have been exploiting us in the past. This is a moment of deep introspection.

Before I proceed to wind up this introduction, I feel strongly inclined to say a few words about Alastair Lamb's work *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy*. I have a reason to do so. In this work, Lamb has tried to prove on the basis of statements recorded by the police that hijacking of the Indian aircraft Ganga was Indian conspiracy. Lamb has little knowledge that the statements recorded by police were extracted from us in the Shahi Fort at Lahore by Lahore police, Pakistani Interior Ministry and the Foreign Ministry by subjecting us to the harshest and barbaric methods of torture. Though one could take up many more assertions of this work for repudiation like the accession document of the Maharaja of Kashmir, but since the hijacking affair is one in which I am involved directly, I would not touch upon other matters at this point of time.

1. Lamb refers to Nooru'l-Arifin Commission consisting of one civil servant Nawwab Rahat Chhattari and two officers of Colonel's rank from ISI. The findings of this commission brought out in the shape of a report, could not be upheld in any court of law including the special court set up for the purpose. Nooru'l - Amin was subsequently given a ticket

for National Assembly candidature by the Peoples Party in Karachi and was elected to the 1977 assembly. In 1977, Karachi newspapers carried a picture of this 'Justice' Nooru'l-Amin batoning the demonstrators during a public demonstration staged against Bhutto's government and the elections of 1977. What justice and impartiality can be expected from a judge who takes up batons to beat political protestors and thus betrays his partisan propensity publicly?. Perhaps Lamb does not know that this Rahat Chhatari was the one whose services were terminated by the first elected government of Pakistan under the allegations of corruption. He should have doubly checked the credibility of this judge before accepting him as a source for his investigation.

Now with regard to torture and forcible eliciting of our so-called confessional statements by the police (on which Lamb bases his inference), let me reproduce an excerpt from the statement of late Maqbool Butt which he gave before the special court which tried him in Pakistan:

"Personally I have been through three stages of torture. First in Mehtab Bagh, Srinagar (IOK) by the Indian occupying army; then in Black Fort (Azad Kashmir) by the Gestapo type officers of F.I.U (Field Investigation Unit) and then in Lahore Fort. The objectives of torture were different in all the three places. In Indian - held Kashmir the occupying soldiers wanted to know facts about me as a person and my movement. F.I.U in Muzaffarabad wanted me to confirm their assumption about me and my movement. But the Gestapo in Lahore Fort wanted me to 'confess' total and utter lies and to give a false statement as a part of their conspiracy. Only the administrative machinery of the oppressive rulers of this country (Pakistan) could have done what was done to us to distort the facts and to construct false stories and characters. Some details of the torture to which we were subjected in Lahore Fort, are given by my comrades in their written statements. But there was a lot more done in that fort. The fact is that some details are so shameful that it is not possible to put them in writing. I leave the decision about what happened in Shahi Qillah (Royal Fort) for the Day of Judgement."

(Note: The text of Maqbool Butt's complete statement given by him before the Special Court of Pakistan has been appended to this volume.)

It is intriguing whether this statement of late Maqbool Butt and our written statements (to which he alludes) about our torture in Shahi Qilla in Lahore, were at all shown to Lamb by the police authorities. One

can also infer that since these did not suit his biased views, he decided to be silent about them which alone could help him distort the facts.

2. In the matter of hijacking of Ganga, Alastair Lamb has entirely depended on the official version of the story, meaning there by the documents which Lahore police, Interior Ministry and Nuru'l-Amin Commission provided him for study. Interestingly police statements including the official version of the case were not upheld by the Special Court. No fewer than 164 statements elicited as a result of torture were rejected by the same Special Court which did refer to torture by the police while delivering the judgement. Lamb published his book in 1991 but strangely he never felt the necessity of meeting with any notable person connected with the National Liberation Front nor with any one involved in Ganga hijacking, Ashraf Qureshi and myself included.

3. Alastair Lamb has tried to tarnish my image by stating that I was "black marketing" tickets in Regal cinema, Srinagar. The fact is that this cinema was owned by the Bazazs of Nowshehra, Srinagar. After I appeared in Matriculation examination, a relative of ours who was married into this Bazaz family, arranged to employ me as ticket clerk for balcony booking of the said cinema. This was a temporary employment till my result was out. I have always believed in and depended upon hard work and honesty than anything else. Ho- Chi- Min of Vietnam had been cleaning pots and pans in a kitchen of a ship. If Alastair Lamb cares to look into the record of those persons who have provided him false material to tarnish my image, he will find their hands besmeared with the blood of innocent Kashmiri youth which they consented to shed by selling themselves to agencies providing them salaries and perks. The death of these young boys of Kashmir on mountains, snow-clad passes, gorges, ravines, forests, villages, towns, lanes and by-lanes was compassed by them.

4. By depending on official and police version of the story of Ganga hijacking, Alastair Lamb has made no secret that he was only endorsing the official stand of Pakistan government and that he supported that government's Kashmir mission. On 25 November 1992, I served through my Dutch lawyer Mr. Van Bennekom, a notice to the publisher of Lamb's book and Lamb himself that I would be bringing a law suit of defamation against them. In the last week of December of the same year, I proceeded on a visit to Saudi Arabia. Then Ayub Thukar, the all in all of London-based Kashmir Freedom Movement, contacted all possible sources including my home people and managed to obtain my contact number in Dahrán. He called on me one day and said, "You have sent a notice through your lawyer to Alastair Lamb and you should not

proceed further with any action against him." My reply was that Lamb had based his story against us on what Pakistani police had told him and what was the official stand of Pakistan government. Evidently this was a biased view. I was stunned to hear Ayub Thakur's response which showed to what extent people are prepared to sacrifice the truth and bemean themselves for personal aggrandizement. He said, "If you file a suit against Alastair Lamb in a court of law, then you will find us standing by his side. "Alastair Lamb's partisanship was later on confirmed when he was invariably found present in Ayub Thakur's meetings. He also continued to participate in Pakistan in the assemblies of such people as were ideological supporters of Pakistan's stand on Kashmir. He was always given red carpet treatment in Pakistan.

5. I must at this point also record what Ashraf Qureshi (my co-hijacker of Ganga) told me on telephone sometime back. He is now a lecturer in Punjab University Lahore. He said, "Alastair Lamb and his wife visited Pakistan in 1995. He also visited Punjab University Lahore where I drew his attention towards what he had written about Ganga hijacking case in his book *Kashmir: The Disputed Legacy*. While refuting his version of this story, I had offered to provide him all documentary evidence and court judgements which would repudiate his assertions. I accompanied him and his wife to Feroz Sons publishers in Lahore where Lamb kept talking to the proprietor. Meanwhile, I asked his wife to give me Lamb's London address so that I would mail the aforementioned documents to him. She began to write it on a piece of paper, but while writing when she came to know who I was and what kind of documents I desired to mail him, she suddenly stopped, got up and left me. Obviously it meant that Alastair Lamb was in no mood to accept the repudiation of his assertions and listen the truth." This incident also supports our feeling that Alastair Lamb has brought out his work under special influence and for fulfilment of the interests of special circles.

6. Apart from Lamb, the Special Court in Pakistan as well as sensible bureaucrats at Kashmir Affairs Ministry in Pakistan agree that if Ganga had not been set on fire at Lahore airport, and instead had been allowed to return to India, there was little chance of India's stopping the overflights. Lamb has also stated that the US embassy in Pakistan had thrown a hint to the Pakistan government to this effect. As one who played central role in Ganga case, I also hold the same opinion. In order to repudiate Lamb's pro-Pakistani official stand, I have reproduced at its proper place in this book the statements given by Major Rahim Shah of Pakistan Army and late K.H. Khurshid, once the Secretary of " Qaid-e-Azam" M.A. Jinnah, and former President of Azad Kashmir and President Lahore Bar Council who was known for his integrity. These

are the statements given by them as witnesses in the Special Court mentioned above.

7. Major Rahim Shah's deposition draws a vivid picture of the high drama at Lahore airport for four days and three nights between January 30 and February 2, 1971. It also gives an insight into all that was happening in the offices of the chief secretary and the martial law administrator. Since at that point of time we stood among those Kashmiris who considered Pakistan their Mecca, naturally all our actions and movements were controlled by Pakistani authorities. In the case of late K.H. Khurshid, even his rank enemies have conceded that he was an honest and truthful person. The Senior Superintendent of Police, Lahore, Sardar Vakil, had, in the presence of late K.H. Khurshid and late Maqbool Butt offered to provide petrol and to set the aircraft on fire in the hangar of the airport. This was recorded by K.H. Khurshid when he deposed before the Special Court. In fact K.H. Khurshid and Maqbool Butt both had agreed that only the window panes of the aircraft be broken. Accompanied by Ashraf Qureshi, I returned to the aircraft and began breaking the glass - panes. Meanwhile, Sardar Vakil appeared with a canister of petrol and told us *"Butt Sahib has now agreed that the aircraft be set ablaze, take the petrol and do the job."* We did not find any reason not to comply with the instructions of a Pakistani SSP and that too an elderly person. We were, at that time, extraordinarily euphoric about Pakistan. The record of Lahore airport fire brigade is the evidence that the aircraft was set on fire by Pakistani authorities. The log book carries an entry of a telephonic call from SSP Sardaar Vakil made twenty minutes prior to the burning of the aircraft. The telephonic message said, "Keep the fire fighting machine ready because the aircraft is about to be set on fire." This log book was produced before the Special Court. The simple logic is that if the hijacking was a conspiracy masterminded by India, then we would not have waited for long **"EIGHTY HOURS"** from January 30 to February 2 at Lahore airport. We could have been even brought down from the aircraft during that period which would have thwarted the 'conspiracy'. Every inquisitive person can deduce from Major Rahim Shah's statement that four to five soldiers and ISI officers stood at not more than a foot's distance from us all the time.

8. The question now arises why did not the Special Court take cognizance of the statements of the witnesses, Major Rahim Shah and K.H. Khurshid, and also the entries in the log book of the fire fighting organization. It should be mentioned that the Special Court was constituted under Martial Law Order No.13 which carried a sub-section stipulating, "If anything has been published against the accused in any newspaper or journal which the plaintiff would like to make use of in

support of its plea, then there would be no need for personal attestation of such a news by the editor or news editor. The court would consider it as evidence". Had the Special Court taken due cognizance of the statements of Major Rahim Shah and K.H. Khurshid as also the entries in the log book, then there was no chance of framing a case against us. And if the case could not be framed then there would have been no justification for unleashing the full blooded propaganda in Pakistani print and electronic media against us that we were Indian agents and the hijacking was a conspiracy hatched by Indian intelligence. This propaganda campaign was launched prior to bringing the charges against me formally which means from April 14, 1971 to 1972. If the Special Court did not convict us, then the entire press and information organization of Pakistan government would have lost its credibility. Evidently Pakistani government would have never liked it. In a country where Justice Munir of the Supreme Court declared the dismissal of the democratic government by the Governor General, Ghulam Mohammad, as justified, where in Nusrat Bhutto case, the Supreme Court considered it justifiable to give the autocratic Martial Law Administrator General Zia the right to effect amendment to the constitution under the concept of 'expediency', how could a Special Court muster courage to give judgement against the government? A biased historian does no service to history and to his own conscience by suppressing or by distorting the facts to suit his jaundiced view.

9. Alastair Lamb writes that Punjab Chief Secretary, Agha Afzal refused to meet me. The truth is that the first two persons to meet me in the V.I.P room were Agha Afzal, the Chief Secretary Punjab and the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore. Agha Afzal insisted impetuously that passengers be off-loaded. Later on we came to know that his brother-in-law, Dr. Naseer was among the passengers of this airplane. It was obvious that before meeting his relative, the chief secretary would insist on passengers being allowed to go.

As far as the presence of officials and their family members in the aircraft is concerned, Lamb has only reproduced the official version of the story without ascertaining its facts. There were children, women, ordinary Kashmiris and some civilian officers of India. Complete list of the passengers is preserved in the records. There was only one uniformed Sikh military man, perhaps of the rank of a Captain, among the passengers. If it was a conspiracy, the Captain would not have been allowed to wear the uniform. At Lahore airport, we were met by General Niazi, Dr. Mubashir Hassan, Ahmad Reza Kasuri, a host of army officers and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. It was Bhutto who said, "**The aircraft should not go back; that will be our defeat.**" Probably this happened at

about mid-day on February 2 and the actual burning of the aircraft took place on the instructions of Pakistani officials at about 2100 hours the same night when petrol canister was provided. Lamb says that petrol was already kept available on board the plane. The question is what was the need of keeping open petrol on board when for four days and three nights it was besieged by the police, CID and army personnel. Why is not the statement of K.H. Khurshid and our own accepted that it was SSP Sardar Vakil who brought petrol to us? Neither the plaintiff nor Alastair Lamb have any proof other than these statements which they are not disposed to accept.

10. Lamb says that the hijackers carried fake weapons. We have never denied that. But how could the frightened passengers identify during a short flight of 45 minutes that the point 22 pistol carried by us was only fake when such identification could not be done by veteran Pakistani army men in normal circumstances as we were in their control for four days and three nights? The answer to this question is to be found in the statement of Major Rahim Shah who was arms expert at Quetta Staff College. He brought a real point 22 pistol in the court. The judge of the Special Court, having taken both the pistols in his hands, could not identify which was the real one and which was the fake one. As a historian, Alastair Lamb should know that most of the hijackings in the world have been done by displaying only false weapons; brinjal under cover of a handkerchief to pass for a hand grenade, a thick cigar tied to belt and branded as a bomb etc. In Japan a person showed the passengers a bottle saying it was filled with nitro glycerine to destroy the train. The train was hijacked and at last the hijacker opened the bottle and drank water out of it. When fear is struck among passengers in an aircraft or a train etc. nobody dares ask whether the weapons demonstrated are real or fake.

11. I would not have hesitated in bringing a suit of defamation against Alastair Lamb. But my limitation is that despite having a Dutch passport the British government has imposed a ban on my entering UK. Secondly, I am not provided necessary means by any agency or government to fight a costly case. I have been living in Europe for last eleven years and am fully aware of the history of colonialism and the existing exploitative system. I know that some European countries and the US support their existence by exploiting the Third World. As such unless their words and deeds bring some relief to the masses of the Third World, I have hesitations in believing in their pretensions of humanism. Unfortunately the bane of the Third World countries is that they look to the West and the US for the solution to their problems, deprivations and conflicts which, to a large extent, are the creation of those to whom they

look up to. **How strange that some among us expect the same colonial power to solve our problem which sold us, the Kashmiris, to the Dogra satrap for a paltry sum of 75,0000 rupees.** Unless we are determined to resolve our problems ourselves, unless we come out of the bondage of caste, creed, religion, colour etc. and make truth as the basis of our struggle, we shall never achieve anything. Tyranny and oppression are not limited to one's community and race alone. Voices have to be raised against tyranny and oppression wherever these are unleashed.

12. I happened to meet Alastair Lamb in the lobby of the UN Human Rights Commission on April 14, 1998 in Geneva. Two other friends, Dr. Ayub Thukar and a Russian lady Tatiana were also present. After introducing myself, Mr. Lamb said: I had sent a notice to him and that his lawyer would have responded and then my money would have to be spent in the suit that would have been brought against him" I said, "I was actually running short of money. Moreover, I could not go to UK. For these two reasons I could not pursue the case". But I told him that I was giving a reply to his question in my book. I asked him why he had not made full enquiry into the Ganga hijacking case. Further, I wanted to know him why he had presented the stand of the Government of Pakistan as it had given him the reports of police interrogation. I said "it meant he was writing on behalf of Pakistan Government and as the spokesman of Pakistani police". He denied the charge. I insisted that as an independent historian, he had not studied the statements of Mr. K.H Khurshid and Major Rahim Shah given before the Special Court as well as the verdict of the Special Court itself. **I added that the Special Court had conceded in its verdict that statements were extracted under police interrogation and torture and these carried no weight whatsoever.**

I asked him that as he was a historian, why had he not made an in-depth enquiry before passing the judgement against somebody? He said that was not true and promised that if I sent him the material, he would re-write his book". I said, that I would not oblige but of course my reply would be incorporated in my forthcoming book. I said "if he considered himself an independent historian then it become his duty to make adequate enquiry and research before proffering views and interpretations". Mr. Lamb had no answer to offer.

In regard to the solution to Kashmir tangle I believe that all the three parties involved in it should give a new thought to their priorities and their interests and direct their efforts to search the truth. It will be futile to think that elections or a dialogue between the two countries

alone would be enough to bring about a solution. The circumstances prevailing at this juncture give us a warning that something disastrous could happen, perhaps a destructive war could erupt in the sub-continent which would engulf all of us. Therefore it is incumbent upon us to save the humanity from this dreaded disaster. Atmosphere of peace needs to be created, and we should contribute our share in stabilizing peace and order in the entire region. If relations between India and Pakistan are normalized and made friendly, this would certainly result in alleviating the age-old suffering of Kashmiris and in removing the injustices done to them.

There are certain realities, bitter no doubt. Those thinking that India or Pakistan would be able to take the part of Kashmir not with them at the moment, are living in a fools paradise. Those who think that Kashmir should become independent of India and Pakistan, should know that there are certain pre-requisites for such a possibility. A united leadership should have a plan which is both workable and credible. Its credibility emanates from its true secular character in which the people of Ladakh, Kashmir and Jammu regions are equal partners in struggle. It is so because in my opinion Kashmir question is essentially one of trampling of the rights of the people of the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Finally, the purpose of presenting my viewpoint through the medium of English language (after having expressed myself in Urdu in the past) is to reach the vast English knowing readership in general and such sections in particular as are in a position of planning policies and influencing decisions. I wish that they know me as one whose perceptions and ideas reflect the hopes and aspirations of millions in the sub-continent, and their burning desire to wriggle out of the looming fear of a disastrous confrontation among the groups. I do not want to be known only as Hashim Qureshi - the hijacker of Ganga.

The contents of this work also carry the story of the kidnaping and murder of Ravinder Mhatre of Indian High Commission in the UK by the activists of Kashmir Liberation Army. I must make it clear that I was also suspected of involvement in this case because I happened to be in the UK at that time. But after probing into the case, it was found that I had nothing to do with it, the British authorities set me free. I was against the kidnaping and murder of the Indian diplomat and had tried my best that his life was saved. I had no doubt in my mind that Mhatre's murder would end up in the execution of Muhammad Maqbool Butt as a retaliatory measure. But Amanullah Khan and his cronies did not listen to me. At the end of the day, what I had apprehended did happen.

A tragedy with the activists of the movement and the Liberation Front was that I disclosed the indirect involvement of Amanullah Khan and his cohorts in the martyrdom of Maqbool Butt to the leadership in Srinagar, Pakistan and Azad Kashmir. Some workers in the organization did not support my reform programme just because they had become very euphoric with the movement reaching its peak. But then came a time when they too got distanced from the organization and the movement. Today a handful of workers are trading accusations against one another. As far as I am concerned, I carry deep in my bosom the pain and anguish caused by the fragmentation of the Liberation Front because its roots were nurtured with the sweat and blood of very sincere and dedicated activists.

I must also make it clear that in connection with the contemplated hijacking of an aircraft related to Mhatre kidnaping case, although wedded to the ideology of non-violence as I am, I would not have hesitated from playing a role in any successfully planned adventure of rescuing Muhammad Maqbool Butt as he remained imprisoned in Tihar jail in Delhi.

Before concluding this somewhat lengthy introduction, I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my sincere thanks to all those friends, men and women, who helped me in producing the English version of these articles most of which have already been published in two of my Urdu works. I am also thankful to my son, Junaid Qureshi, who painstakingly did the job at the computer. Lastly, I am grateful to my wife, Zaib-un-Nisa, who, despite her personal agony of long separation from her parents, stands by my side in our days in exile, supporting and encouraging me to bring this volume and other literary works to conclusion.

25 April 1998.

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PART ONE

Chapter 1

KASHMIR QUESTION, INDIA AND PAKISTAN

The ruling circles in India and Pakistan may or may not accept, but the intelligentsia knows that the vast populace of the South Asian sub-continent is sitting atop the volcano called Kashmir. In past, wars have been fought between the two countries in 1947 and 1965 on Kashmir. Nearly half a century has passed since the dawn of independence, yet the two countries have not been able to establish mutual friendly relations. Both of them are incurring billions of dollars in foreign debt and both are struggling hard to meet the basic needs of their people. Yet despite that, both are spending millions of dollars annually on military preparedness so that they may, at their choosing, bring the vast humanity of the sub-continent to the brink of a destructive war. It is time that we bring under close discussion the past policy of all the three parties to the dispute, namely, the people of Kashmir, India and Pakistan, and also discuss the international commitments and the possibility of a lasting solution to the tangle.

For more than 40 years in the past, India could not make Kashmir an inseparable part despite the best efforts she has made. Pakistan could not annex Kashmir despite two wars which she fought with India. At the same time, we need to throw light on the struggle and perceptions of the people in both parts of Kashmir, and in the process, one finds that the true face of the hypocritical and for sale leadership, on both sides, is revealed. I may, therefore, appeal to the truth, justice and freedom-loving people, intellectuals, jurists, journalists and others to go

through the contents of this article not with prejudice but only with a sense of pragmatism. The people of Kashmir in general, and her youth in particular, may re-evaluate their struggle and their line of thinking in order to take positive and realistic steps with regard to the future of Kashmiris. In the first place, I would like to deal with the struggle and the line of action of the Kashmiri masses who are the real party to the Kashmir dispute.

The people of Pakistan occupied Kashmir (POK) [meaning 'Azad Kashmir' (AK)] want re-unification of the divided Kashmir and thus an independent sovereign state. They are convinced that India cannot take AK and then reunite the original State making it a unit of the Indian Union. Even if India does that, the people of Kashmir would not accept the solution. Likewise, they believe that Pakistan, too, cannot annex the Indian controlled part of Kashmir, recreate the original state and make it a province of Pakistan. That solution, too, would not be acceptable to the Kashmiris. The people of AK have a bitter experience for last forty years of remaining with Pakistan. They have realised that economically, educationally, politically and in terms of defense strategy, Pakistan rulers have made AK their virtual colony. In this connection, it may be reminded that once a former Pakistani Prime Minister invited late Maulana Yusuf Shah and late Chowdhury Ghulam Abbas to an exchange of views on the possible plebiscite in Kashmir. The late Maulana said bluntly, "Please be assured that the Kashmiri Muslims of the other side (meaning Indian controlled Kashmir) will cast their vote in your favour but the people of this side (AK) will not. Included among the people of AK are myself and Chowdhury Sahib who is sitting in front of me." The exasperated Pakistani Prime Minister asked the reason for this. The Maulana said, "The people on this side have seen you but those on the other side have not yet. As such, those on the other side will cast their vote for you while those on this side, including myself and Chowdhury Sahib will not."

Pakistani rulers were oppressive with the people of AK, Gilgit and Baltistan. These areas were freed from the occupation of the troops of Maharaja Hari Singh by Colonel Hassan Khan, who was interned by the Pakistanis. For twenty-five years the people of these regions were ruled by the black law of Frontier Regulations. Today the people of Gilgit and Baltistan have not the right to make an appeal against the verdict of the Sessions Court or of the Divisional Commissioner before any superior judicial authority. In 1979, I was interned in Haripur jail in NWFP. There were 17 detainees with me three of whom were condemned to capital punishment and the remaining 14 were given imprisonment ranging from seven years to life imprisonment. The punishment was

awarded for the offense of the murder of a clerk in Divisional Commissioner's office in the course of a broil. The condemned approached all the High Courts of the four provinces of Pakistan and the Supreme Court of Azad Kashmir with their cases but all the courts rejected their plea on the ground that Gilgit and Baltistan did not fall within their jurisdiction. In 1953, Pakistani regular forces blasted the houses of people in Potla, Palandhari and Mang by using gunpowder. People including women and children were subjected to repression. This had forced the Khan of Mang to flee to the Indian side of Jammu. In AK, till date four elections have been held. The first elected President, late K.H. Khurshid, who also happened to be the private secretary of Mr. Jinnah, was dismissed and interned in Dalai interrogation camp. Later on, during the tenure of A. Bhutto, the second elected President of AK, namely Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, was removed from Presidentship by a Deputy Superintendent of Police in Muzaffarabad dragging him by his beard before he had completed his tenure. Third time, during the regime of Zia-ul-Huq, Sardar Ibrahim was arbitrarily removed from his post. And now, in fourth instance, Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan will be dismissed from presidentship because General Zia is no more who could come to his rescue.

In terms of economic development, AK has been left to backwardness. This is inspite of the fact that POK emigrants working hard in Arab and Western countries send enormous remittances of foreign currency to Pakistan. In 1977 these remittances crossed Rs. 700 million worth foreign exchange which has now (1984) risen to Rs. 12 billion.

A few days back a minister stated that a sum of Rs. 24 billion was lying in Pakistani banks by the people of AK. But notwithstanding such large credits, no industry has been installed in AK which could provide means of subsistence to the people nor have the agriculture and horticulture sectors been given any attention. During the regime of Sardar Abdul Qayyum, Pakistan agricultural laboratory rejected a particular potato seed for cultivation in Pakistan but the same seed was imported by the son of Sardar Qayyum to AK and sold to the AK government. In educational sector, the position is that in Gilgit and Baltistan areas, with a population of 3 to 3.5 million, there is neither any medical college or an engineering college or a university complex. In the 'Neelam Ghar' serial, Tariq Aziz asked his audience which was the greatest university in the world. Oxford, California etc. were named. But Tariq Aziz said it was Azad Kashmir University because it was spread over all the four regions of AK by virtue of its classes being held in the Degree Colleges of all the four regions. One subject is taught at Mirpur

Degree College, the second at Kotli Degree College, the third at Poonch and the fourth at Muzaffarabad Degree College. There is no campus of the university at all nor is there any technical college either in AK or in Gilgit and Baltistan.

This is the state of education in AK. And about administration and political affairs, the less said the better. In AK, the senior posts like I.G Police, Secretary Finance, DC's of all the four districts, some SPs and a few other administrative posts are occupied by Pakistanis. In the name of Constitution, Pakistan granted AK in 1974, an 'Interim Constitution' which is nothing less than a document of slavery. This Constitution provides a Council for AK with the Prime Minister or President of Pakistan as its Chairman. About 54 heads were identified whose dispensation passed into the hands of this Council. Grant and cancellation of state subject hood, public services, copy right, banking, laws of insurance, planning for economy, highways, estates, newspaper and printing, custom duty, export duty, agricultural tax and also railways (which do not exist at all in POK) were included in the jurisdiction of the Council chaired by the President or the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

If anybody desires to bring out a newspaper in AK, it is the Council which must allow or disallow it. What is more. Under Section 7 Article 2 of this document of slavery, the following restriction has been imposed on the true freedom fighters and parties struggling for the freedom of Kashmir. [" No person or political party in Azad Kashmir shall be permitted to propagate against or take part in activities prejudicial or detrimental to the ideology of the State's accession to Pakistan."] This means that before a plebiscite is held, like India, any opinion other than accession to Pakistan is illegal. Is there any difference in the views of India and Pakistan on Kashmir? Likewise, in this 'Constitution', under Section (6) 5 and Section (4) 13 pertaining to oath of office for the President and Prime Minister of AK, Kashmir's accession to Pakistan and struggle for bringing about the same and remaining loyal to Pakistan are compulsory. In following the example of India, the oath of accession has become a part of the 'Constitution' because both the countries are conscious of having occupied Kashmir territory illegally.

Apart from these tyrannical administrative measures and oppressive treatment, the youth in AK have been inculcated with the spirit of Kashmiriyat (identity), keeping Kashmir independent in the colleges and universities of Pakistan by their interaction with progressive strands among students and academicians. POK students with Jamaat-e-Islami linkages have been nursing the dream of Kashmir as an Islamic theocratic state. Furthermore, the struggle of Ganga hijacking,

Plebiscite Front, National Liberation Front and Liberation Front together with the relentless effort and 'martyrdom' of great leader Muhammad Maqbool Butt also infused in Kashmiri younger generation the spirit of supporting independent and sovereign state of Jammu and Kashmir. Three months ago, Sardar Ibrahim Khan, Chairman Peoples Party AK, also advocated in Karachi, and other places, independent Kashmir as the only realistic solution of Kashmir question. He appealed the friendly countries all over the world to recognise AK as an independent state so that an embarrassing situation could be created for India in its part of Kashmir. In other words, he wanted that AK be given the status of North Vietnam. But this would never happen because like India, Pakistan, too, has hardly any concern for the freedom, sovereignty, honour and prestige of the Kashmiris. She has hardly any sympathy with them, except that she caveats the territory of Kashmir.

When an Indian airplane was hijacked in 1971, Kashmiris on both sides had hailed the adventure. The sentiments of independence surfaced with full favour. Kashmiris resolved to wage an armed struggle like the Palestinians and the Vietnamese. But Pakistani rulers saw to it that this did not come about. A vicious propaganda and a false case were framed against us all including Shaheed Maqbool Butt charging us as Indian agents. A special court was established to trial us. This is how Pakistani authorities treated us and our struggle.

Let us now take stock of the plan of action and struggle of the people of Indian controlled Kashmir. It is very painful and demoralising to note that the people of the Valley have always been used by its leadership as the ladder for their ascendancy. What is more surprising is that even the educated section of people in that part of Kashmir has been often becoming a victim of emotions. Kashmiri masses supported Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah at every step and sacrificed their precious lives on his bidding. It is a reality that Sheikh Abdullah gave his compatriots a practical lesson of fighting oppression. But when the same Sheikh Abdullah overlooked the long and arduous struggle and the privations of incarceration to which Kashmiris were subjected and concluded Indira-Sheikh Accord of 1975 which put the final seal on Kashmir's accession to Indian Union. At that juncture, Kashmiris should have asked their beloved leader that if after spending thirteen years in prison and demanding debilitating economic, political and physical sacrifices from thousands of Kashmiris for freedom, he had to accept the finality of Kashmir's accession through Delhi Accord, where then was the need to foment the uprising of 1953 and besides himself, asking the people to make prolonged sacrifices from 1953 to 1975? But Kashmiris did not ask these questions. Conversely, they ensured Sheikh Abdullah and his

party's landslide victory (over 70 per cent) in the elections. Bankruptcy of sensibility with the Kashmiris crossed its limits when the same masses accepted Ghulam Mohammed Shah (nicknamed Guleh Shah), the Chief Minister of yesterday as a leader of Muslim United Front although as Chief Minister, he had declared Kashmir's accession to India as final. He was in the cabinet of Sheikh Abdullah and was a party to Delhi Accord. But when New Delhi took away power from him, the same Guleh Shah raised the slogan of accession to Pakistan. This is how the Kashmiri leadership has blackmailed Indian government and has been demanding sacrifices from Kashmiri masses in the name of freedom. They carry these sacrifices to New Delhi to sell them to the prospective customers who would ensure their perpetuation in the echelons of power and influence.

By raising the slogan of accession to Pakistan, this leadership extract millions of rupees from Pakistan's military rulers. Thus by becoming the agents of both the parties, they make the Kashmiris a sacrificial goat only to build palaces for themselves and their future generations. And when they come to possess power, they do not hesitate to unleash a reign of terror and oppression on the common masses. They must keep their Delhi masters in good humour. In 1974, Dr. Farooq Abdullah came to AK from England and toured the entire AK. He did not only make a promise to the people at every place to continue the struggle but, addressing a mammoth rally of a hundred thousand people in Mirpur, he lifted a gun in his hand along with Maqbool Butt (Shaheed), Ashraf Qureshi, Abdul Khaliq Ansari and Amanullah Khan, administered the oath that he would fight for the freedom and sovereignty of Kashmir till his last breath. He announced: "If my father makes a deal with Indira Gandhi at the cost of Kashmir's freedom, I shall be the first rebel against him." A hundred thousand people besides the journalists and news reports of the day stand witness to these pronouncements. Dr. Farooq's photographs with Maqbool Butt also stand a testimony to the statement. But there is a limit to shame-facedness and imbecility. During the tenure of the same Farooq Abdullah, and with his consent, the doyen of Kashmir freedom movement, Maqbool Butt, was sent to the gallows. And when at that critical juncture, he was contacted and asked to use his influence to save the life of Maqbool Butt, he had said, "Do you think I should put my authority at stake for the sake of Maqbool Butt?" How ironical that only a few months later, Delhi Durbar removed him from his seat of power.

Kashmiris should have also asked Maulana Farooq why he had been vacillating from one end to another end? This religious and political leader of the poor masses in Kashmir built for him a grand and imposing palace for which stones were imported from abroad.

He had no qualms of conscience in joining hands with Dr. Farooq Abdullah when it suited him. Today, he has become his opponent. The members of Liberation Front met Maulavi Farooq in Saudi Arabia and he flatly refused to join the struggle for freedom saying that it was impossible to liberate ourselves from India's control. On his return home, his passport was impounded by the Passport Director. In his application he said he was a loyal Indian citizen and his passport be released. Should not the people in Kashmir have asked Maulana Farooq what sacrifices were given and what lessons were taught by the Holy Prophet whose religion he had been propagating from the pulpit? Our beloved Prophet (PBUH) used to spread out a mat to sit upon. The caliphs used bricks as pillows. Why did not the masses of people in Kashmir have as much sense as to bring these hypocritical leaders and religious entrepreneurs to book? Why could they not point out the variance in their precepts and practice? Why could not they realise that these leaders made a brother fight a brother in the name of religion? Indeed these are the people who exploit Islam. Our religion has called dowry system a curse. What had the Holy Prophet (PBUH) given to his daughter Hazrat Fatima in dowry? How many Kashmiri leaders have launched anti-dowry campaign? They rush to partake of a feast wherever they sniff it.

It does not surprise the people of Pakistan alone but on international level, and Kashmiris have to hang their heads in shame, when they find that while Kashmiris are prepared to make sacrifice their lives on a particular event taking place in Pakistan yet they show no reaction when the same situation develops in Kashmir itself. In 1979, Pakistan's elected Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was hanged. The people in the Valley strongly protested against this barbaric and tyrannical act. They burnt the houses of their brethren (of Jamaat-e-Islami ideology) and the episode cost 13 lives. But in Pakistan, not a single life was lost on that day for the same incident. In recent days, a huge fire engulfed Ojri camp near Rawalpindi in which a large quantity of military hardware meant for supply to Afghan mujahids was destroyed. Many lives were lost in this incident. Again the sentimental Kashmiris protesting on the incident saw to it that another 4 or 5 precious Kashmiri lives were lost. No public demonstration of resentment took place in Pakistan on the subject and no protest rally came out on the streets. But of course, in defense of the army, the military dictator of Pakistan, General Zia, dismissed the civilian government of which he himself was the creator. Because Junejo government wanted to take some action against the military commanders on Ojri camp disaster issue.

Blinded by emotions, the Kashmiris, when General Zia was killed in an air crash, made such violent demonstrations as to take a toll of 5 or 6 innocent lives. One should not forget that when the same Zia ordered the hanging of Z.A. Bhutto, again the Kashmiris sacrificed precious lives in support of Bhutto and against Zia. And now they sacrificed lives for the same tyrant.

One would like to put a simple question to Kashmiris. Which of your sentiment is real one? The one you demonstrated at the time of hanging of Bhutto or the one you showed at the time of the death of Zia?

For eleven long years, Gen. Zia imposed the burden of a debt of billions of dollars on Pakistan. He divided the entire Pakistani nation into the politics of fraternities, tribes and localities exacerbating the sense of deprivation among the smaller nationalities in that country. He exploited Islam to the limits that its spirit began to cry. In the name of Islam, he ordered whipping of political activists; in the name of Islam he made military courts pronounce punishments for the people with political clout. On his death, Pakistani people heaved a sigh of relief after eleven long years of dictatorship. Participation of a hundred thousand or two hundred thousand people in a population of 110 million people in the funeral procession of the dictator was not an evidence of his popularity. In Pakistan, nobody sacrificed his life on the death of Zia. Why then did the Kashmiris risk some precious lives on this incident when these could have been put to the service of the motherland?

Kashmiris celebrate 14 August as Pakistan Day. This gives a right to the Indian officials to take legal action against those who celebrate the enemy country's day. Not only that, in spite of wanton waste of precious lives, there is not even a double column news public on international level. International community is hardly concerned whether Kashmiris support accession to India or make sacrifices for accession to Pakistan because in either case it becomes a territorial and regional dispute. But of course, if Kashmiris make sacrifices for the freedom of Kashmir and her sovereignty, that is likely to register international support. But in case Kashmiris die for the cause of Kashmir's accession to any country, nobody in the world will be pained. Those people of Kashmir valley who raise the slogan of 'Pakistan Zindabad' or of accession to Pakistan on the occasion of death anniversary of Maqbool Butt, do great injustice to his soul and his entire struggle. In fact, in doing so they make a mockery of his mission. His entire life and mission were dedicated to national liberation of Kashmir and her self-determination. He was no less against Pakistan's occupation

of Kashmir than India's. He was first and last a Kashmiri. In the Special Court trying him in Pakistan, he had boldly said that he had revolted against oppression, slavery, lust for power and exploitation. For three-and-a-half-years, he was tried in a court of law allegedly for being an Indian agent. In the Shahi Fort where he remained interned, he was subjected to inhuman torture for more than three months. When he declined to depose in accordance with the wishes of the interrogating authorities, he was served with a threatening that his wife would be brought to the Shahi Fort and humiliated. If on the death anniversary of the same Maqbool Butt, Kashmiris raised the slogan of Kashmir's accession with Pakistan instead of Kashmir becoming independent, does it not mean negation of that martyr's struggle and mission. He embraced death for Kashmiris and Kashmiris alone.

Many people in India and Kashmir know that during the internment of Maqbool Butt, Indira Gandhi had offered to set him free and even invest him with political power only if he agreed to abandon his ideology and struggle for independence of Kashmir. Had Shaheed Maqbool Butt not been faithful to Kashmiri nation, he could have very well saved his life like selfish and spineless Kashmiri leaders and would have additionally won a handsome reward. Maqbool Butt's answer to Indira Gandhi was "I want to break the tradition of Kashmiri leaders putting themselves on outright sale and their game of deceiving the nation. I would do that even if I have to pay with my life."

Let me now apprise the Kashmiri nation and the people of Pakistan of the role of Pakistani rulers on international platform along with India in the context of Kashmir. When in 1947, the British decided to divide British India into two dominions, the princely states were either to remain independent or to accede to any one of the two emerging states. Pakistan accepted the accession of Junagarh whose ruler was a Muslim Nawab but where Hindu population predominated. The Nawab had decided to accede to Pakistan. When Maharaja Hari Singh acceded to India, Pakistan did not accept it on the plea that Kashmir was a predominantly Muslim dominated state. This shows that from the very outset Pakistan adopted contradictory policy with regard to identical positions in two different princely states. Not only that, Maharaja Hari Singh had concluded a stand-still agreement with Pakistan till a decision was taken about the future of Kashmir. The ink had hardly dried on the instrument of standstill agreement when Pakistan dragged her feet back. She engineered tribal attack on Kashmir. The Maharaja left for Jammu, signed the State's accession to India and approached the Government of India for military assistance. This resulted in a war between India and Pakistan. Then came the time when cease-fire was ordered and our

motherland was divided into two parts. We Kashmiris were divided and were rendered unable to meet one another in our own land. We were rendered helpless in sharing one another's joys and sorrows; the father was separated from his son and the brother was separated from his sister. In the history of mankind, another tragic chapter of dividing lands and people was written in letters of blood. This situation continues to prevail for last forty years. If a person living in Baramulla wishes to meet his brother or sister in Muzaffarabad in AK, he has to obtain a passport. Thereafter he has to travel all the way to Delhi to obtain a visa from Pakistani mission. He has to cool his heels for a month or two at the Pakistani embassy before he can obtain a valid visa. Having got it, he must travel from Srinagar to Amritsar and then to Lahore and Muzaffarabad. This journey covers more than a thousand miles although the distance between Baramulla and Muzaffarabad is hardly three or four hours run.

However, with Kashmir question before the United Nations, Pakistan, on December 22, 1949 proposed an amendment in the text of a resolution. The proposal was that "the future of Jammu and Kashmir" be replaced by "the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan...." Let the fair and impartial people in Kashmir and Pakistan decide whether Pakistani rulers have ever been honest towards Kashmiris. Assuming that the people of Kashmir decide to accede to India then this decision becomes acceptable to Pakistan in the light of her own amendment of the resolution.? In the original draft resolution the stipulation was that the Kashmiris would themselves decide their future. It meant that Kashmir could also remain independent. The right of self-determination could also mean free and sovereign Kashmir. This (amendment brought by Pakistan) became the basis for the United Nations to recognise Kashmir as a regional dispute between two countries. Thus we Kashmiris were deprived of moral and financial support of the UN. The amendment in question made it a dispute between the two countries.

When China attacked India in 1962, Indian leaders were apprehensive that Pakistan, taking the time by forelock, might embark on adventure. Indian leaders exerted pressures on Islamabad via US expressing their willingness to enter into a dialogue with Pakistan on Kashmir issue after the Sino-India war was over but on condition that Pakistan did not launch an attack on India. Sino-India skirmish came to an end and on 27 December 1962, talks between Swaran Singh and Z.A. Bhutto, the two foreign ministers, began on Kashmir. These talks continued till May 1963 and ultimately met with failure.

Here, it is only pertinent to cite from the book titled *India Pakistan Relations* authored by the Federal Minister G.M. W. Chowdhury. On page 13 he says, "In Calcutta meeting, Pakistani delegation presented its plan of division of Kashmir. According to this plan the boundary line was to pass over Pir Panchal ranges to the north of Jammu allowing Poonch, Riasi and Mirpur districts to go to Pakistan. According to the existing boundary line, which has come into being as a result of cease-fire line, Riasi and parts of other district area in the control of India. Riasi is vital for Pakistan. In return, Pakistan was willing to defer the final settlement of Kashmir valley for some time. The Indian delegation said that Kashmir Valley was of crucial importance to India because in absence of India's control over the valley, it would be difficult to run the administration of Ladakh. [The author further writes that both the countries, India and Pakistan, had presented two different plans for the partition of Kashmir. In 1965, Pakistan infiltrated her commando forces into Kashmir without the knowledge of Kashmiris. But when India, in a counter offensive, attacked from Amritsar, she forced Pakistan to withdraw the commandos from Kashmir. Despite the fact that houses of many Kashmiris were torched on allegations of supporting Pakistan and thousands were pushed to Pakistan, nefarious propaganda was made in Pakistan that the Kashmiris were cowards and did not support us rather got our people arrested by the Indians through perfidy.

In Tashkent talks, Kashmir was once again taken up for a deal. In 1972, India and Pakistan virtually settled the Kashmir question under Shimla Agreement. By offering Kashmir card, Pakistan managed the release of her 90 thousand prisoners of war and return of five thousand square miles of the territory occupied by India in war. In a sense, India almost obtained Kashmir from Pakistan according to Simla Agreement since the present division of Kashmir was accepted as the permanent solution to the problem. The cease-fire line was renamed as the line of actual control; both the countries agreed not to take up Kashmir question at any international forum without each other's consent; no party will cross the line of control; no country will allow any such organisation to come up whose activities might result in straining relations between India and Pakistan. In other words, the impression of a temporary cease-fire created by the term 'cease-fire line' was obliterated by the term 'line of control' conveying the sense that control of each country on its respective part of Kashmir was permanent. In 1973, a conference of the heads of Islamic countries was held in Lahore. The Imam of the Shahi Mosque in Lahore was given special instructions not to pray for the liberation of Kashmir in the course of his address to the Friday congregation. Yasser Arafat was received like a head of the state but Sardar Qayyum Khan, the President of AK was not allowed to meet any

head of the state participating in the conference leave alone entering the conference hall. When the parties promised not to cross the control line, it naturally mean that both the countries in fact agreed on the present division of Kashmir along the cease fire line as the final solution to Kashmir dispute. By agreeing not to allow any organisation to grow so as to strain the relations between the two countries, it was clear that in the first instance organisations like National Liberation Front, Liberation Front, Plebiscite Front and NSF were to be destroyed on different pretexts and through different methods. AK regular forces were disbanded soon after the signing of Simla agreement with the objective that Kashmiris did not have any troops of their own. Yet another step was to bring in PPP into AK just as the Congress (I) had been brought into Kashmir. Z.A. Bhutto made an attempt to make AK a province of Pakistan. For this purpose he undertook an extensive visit to the entire AK. People in and outside AK opposed the idea of integrating AK into Pakistan. But by giving the 'Interim Constitution' of 1974 - virtually a document of enslavement- AK was colonised by Pakistan.

Pakistan's internal conditions are in no good shape so much so that her leaders openly say that they are helpless in the case of Kashmir question and the Kashmiris must solve it themselves. They say that they are not going to wage a war with India on this issue and stake the entire country. All the four provinces of Pakistan have different attitude towards Kashmir question. The Sindhis do not attach any importance to it in any case. For the people in Balochistan and NWFP, it is a non-issue. But of course the Punjabis looked at it with some sentimentality till 1960. But thereafter even for them, the issue gradually lost its importance. The reality is that Pakistan decided to remain content with Gilgit and Baltistan which was almost agreed in the Simla Agreement.

However, if the issue remained of any significance to anybody in Pakistan, it was the group of military rulers or the army which wanted to find pretext to disturb India in Kashmir. For this objective, the army occasionally provides some cash doles to a few leaders in the Indian part of Kashmir the details of which are fully known to me. Pakistani army wanted to use US-Liberation Front also in the Indian controlled Kashmir. In May-June 1985, an attempt was made by them through one of our office bearers to contact to us. At that time, I happened to be the Chairman of the Organising Committee of AK Pakistan Liberation Front and all these talks took place under my leadership. The talks continued for three months. Ansari and I told them categorically that we wanted to see Kashmir independent and sovereign and this alone was a solution to the Kashmir tangle. For three months, the discussion continued and it appeared as if Pakistani army had begun to understand what we were

struggling for. Throughout these talks, we had thought that Pakistanis were supporting us as our friends. But we were taken aback when a senior army officer during one of our sittings towards the final stage, suddenly, told us that we should concentrate our strength and effort on recruiting Kashmiri youth from the Indian occupied Kashmir, bringing them to some border post on the cease fire line and handing them over for training and return to Kashmir. Our team comprised four persons Dr. Farooq Haider, Rashid Hasrat, Zubair-ul-Haq Ansari and myself. All of us became very angry on hearing what the Pakistani army officer conveyed to us. I told him that we were not agents but freedom fighters. We could neither become agents for them nor could we provide them with some. The talks failed there and then.

With the failure of talks, my life in Pakistan was made a hell. Despite being a Kashmiri, I was called an Indian national. Efforts were made to hand me over to the Indians. I had to run away along with my family and children. But my sources have recently informed me that the leadership of the Liberation Front in AK has compromised with the army and, internally, efforts are being made to make Kashmiris the agents (of Pakistan) instead of making them freedom fighters. Regarding this, I have some information from Srinagar also.

But before making final analysis, I would like to remind the people, the rulers and the intelligentsia of India that their country has always extended full support to the freedom movements of oppressed nations. This policy of India and her leadership in the non-aligned movement has won India a high esteem in the eyes of international community. But the Kashmir tangle has damaged that profile and India finds herself projected as an oppressor in Kashmir. India has not only promised the right to self-determination for Kashmiris in the United Nations, but her Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, a known champion of the oppressed nations, and the founder of the non-alignment movement, had also promised the Kashmiris to bring them freedom. He had himself pleaded for their right to self-determination. Speaking before the United Nations on January 15, 1948, the Indian representative had said, "whether she (Kashmir) should withdraw from her accession to India and either accede to Pakistan or remain independent with a right to claim admission as a member of the UN, all this we have recognised to be a matter of unfettered decision by the people of Kashmir as the normal life is restored there." Indians have great trust in Nehru and in many countries of the world, he is considered the champion of the freedom struggle of the oppressed nations. In Lal Chowk of Srinagar, the same Jawaharlal Nehru took Shiekh Mohammad Abdullah's hand in his own hands and promised that India would not

coerce Kashmiris to accede either to India or to Pakistan. On July 9, 1957 Jawaharlal Nehru presented before the Indian National Congress Committee a report in which the same promise had been made.

It is a matter of great regret that Jawaharlal Nehru and the democracy-loving people of India took Kashmir as a prize for India and established India's control over Kashmir without the consent of the people. Promises made before the world were thrown to winds. I would, therefore, appeal to the Indian intellectuals, and law-knowing persons that if India's image is to be maintained in the eyes of the world and if Jawaharlal Nehru is to be projected before the world as the harbinger of freedom, and above all if justice is to be done, then they should exert pressure on their government to grant the people of Kashmir the right of self-determination.

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Chapter 2

FROM MHATRE'S MURDER TO MAQBOOL'S MARTYRDOM

In the month of February 1984, Amanullah Khan contrived the kidnapping of Ravinder Mhatre, an Indian diplomat in London, by an organization called Kashmir Liberation Army. At that time, I happened to be in U.K with Afzal Tahir a friend from POK. London police rounded me up also like some others in connection with the investigation in the case. But as nothing was proved against me, I was set free within seventy- two hours.

I had no information that the diplomat had been kidnapped. I and Afzal Tahir had been staying with Amanullah in Luton but a day prior to the kidnapping incident, both of us were sent away to another friend's house. By Amanullah's movements, I suspected that something abnormal was happening or was going to happen. Then came the news that the kidnapped diplomat had been murdered and with that the way was paved for the execution of Maqbool Butt in Tihar jail.

The murder of Mhatre became catalyst to Maqbool Butt's execution. The question is: was Mhatre's murder really necessary? This is the fourth year of Maqbool Butt's martyrdom. Here I venture to make an effort to place before the Kashmiri nation and all freedom loving peoples the circumstances and events leading to his execution so that enslaved nations may learn a bitter lesson that the lives of great freedom fighters should not be thrown away cheaply. I have made it sufficiently clear that I nurse no political or personal grudge or enmity against anybody. I am stating only the facts because at the time of murder of the Assistant Commissioner of Indian High Commission in U.K. I happened to be in

London. Scotland Yard also picked me up in connection with their investigation of the case but set me free within 72 hours when nothing, that could implicate me, was found. Now I am fully acquainted with the real actors involved in Mhatre murder case. Alongside the story of this case, I am presenting documentary evidence leaving the task of judgement to the Kashmiri nation from whose hands has been snatched an illustrious and remarkable son of the soil for personal fame and self-projection only.

Maqbool Butt was arrested by the Indian security forces near Baramulla in 1976 and was brought to be locked up in a dark cell in Tihar jail, Delhi under close guard. Death sentence had been pronounced against him for alleged murder of a police inspector in 1968 though in fact this inspector had been shot dead by one Aurangzeb because he had tried to run away. Aurangzeb was killed the next day in an encounter with the Indian army. Death sentence pronounced against Butt Sahib after his second arrest (1976) was maintained by the Indian authorities which had been deferred because he had escaped from the jail in December 1968. He had filed an appeal against death sentence in the Indian Supreme Court which was rejected for technical reasons. He had filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court of India pleading that in connection with the death sentence by the Special Court, requisite legal formalities had not been completed. He had, as such, demanded that records pertaining to his case be brought before the High Court. This writ petition was under consideration of the Supreme Court in 1984. From 1976 to 1984, Indian authorities locked him up in the death cell but did not execute him.

As a matter of reaction to Mhatre's murder, Indian government, ignoring all political, moral and legal obligations, lost no time in sending him to the gallows. At the closing moments of his life, Butt Sahib had said:

"I am being hanged immediately after Mhatre's murder as a result of politics of revenge. I have no knowledge of this murder which has been carried out at Birmingham, a place eight thousand miles away from my prison cell".

My firm belief is that if Mhatre had not been murdered, the Government of India would not have executed Butt Sahib. This view was endorsed by Zafar Meraj, the nephew of late Shamim Ahmad Shamim (MP) in Rawalpindi in 1986. He is a correspondent of *Kashmir Times* and also the editor of weekly *Aina*. His words were, "Indira Gandhi regime representatives had held two round of talks with Maqbool Butt in the jail

but he was not prepared to accept State's accession to India. Instead, he argued for independent Kashmir asserting that independent Kashmir was necessary for bringing lasting peace to the sub-continent."

A number of times we suspended various types of actions against India because we knew that the Indian government would execute Maqbool Butt as retaliatory measure. Before that we had not act effectively according to a plan, we forget a legal battle in the Indian courts for the release of Maqbool Butt. International opinion had to be smoothened against his execution.

The Liberation Front had, before I am effective and practicable action plan, the murder of Mhatre, if not the result of a conspiracy, was certainly a dirty game of winning cheap popularity and a foolhardy adventure. The leadership of Liberation Front could not utilise the sentiments aroused by the martyrdom of Maqbool Butt to the advancement of the freedom movement of Kashmiri nation. What is more, unfortunately within the party, the Chairman injected confusion and contradiction by branding all those members and individuals as traitors and communists who offered a better proposal or differed with his opinion. It becomes my national duty to lift the curtain from Mhatre murder case and factors which inspired the adventure. It is necessary to come out in open because even now the killers of Mhatre, who are in truth the killers of Maqbool Butt, continue to exploit the sentiments of Kashmiri youth in order to satisfy their urge of winning popularity as leaders of Kashmir. Since I happened to be in London at the time of murder, some circles tried to create an impression that I had something to do with this murder. This also prompts me to put the record straight for those who are interested in our history and also for our future generations.

I will not speak about the work done by the Liberation Front on political front. But in the sphere of armed struggle, its actions betrayed dismal immaturity as these were replete with dangerous consequences. Any person with elementary knowledge of the game of politics would neither himself undertake nor allow others to undertake such adventures. In this context, the letter I wrote to Amanullah Khan in 1985 was, in fact, frank expression of protest against many actions of Amanullah Khan including that of the murder of Mhatre conducted in the name of armed struggle. I condemned in strongest words and within the party, the childish manner in which serious party affairs were conducted. At the time of Butt Sahib's martyrdom, I even caught Amanullah by his collar and said, "You are the murderer of Maqbool Butt".

I have been virtually fighting a war within the party since 1984 with regard to Mhatre murder case. But the system since the days of Amanullah Khan's chairmanship has been that no room is left for difference of opinion and frank debate on issues. As a result, till date, more than a hundred workers have either been shown the door or chose to quit the party only on the basis of their difference of opinion with him. They have been given epithets no less than traitors. In the past, I was also bestowed the appendage of a communist on the basis of my audacity to differ in opinions. By not accepting the democratic approach of debating issues, Liberation Front is fragmented into dozens of groups today. While concluding that letter, I had emphatically said that if the members of Central Committee of the party are not capable of changing the conditions, then in that case I would release this letter along with my resignation to party workers and the press. Ultimately in February 1986, I had to resign as a organiser and member of the Central Committee of Liberation Front. This resignation had not been accepted by the Central Committee and the Working Council till my departure from Pakistan in September 1986. I know nothing what happened later on.

Adventurism

Before opening a detailed discussion on Mhatre case, I must speak about the contemplated plan of hijacking an airliner. Such a plan was certainly there with the objective of seeking the release of Maqbool Butt. Being ignorant of political and military strategies and impatient to win cheap and quick popularity, Amanullah Khan wrecked the entire plan. For the execution of this plan, he had selected two persons from Paris and two from London. The Paris team, however, did not meet with Amanullah Khan for such a big adventure nor were they briefed on the subject. But the two persons sent from London to bring the Paris team, had been instructed to brief them during the journey. This was disclosed by Amanullah Khan in his letter addressed to me and to Dr. Farooq Haider. He wrote: "Owing to paucity of time and no chance of a meeting, I could not give a briefing to Qayyum and others. The other two persons could not make him understand. Qayyum could not come because of legal constraints and I could not go to Paris for want of time."

For such a stupendous project, Amanullah Khan selected a team of four persons who had neither any knowledge of the technique of hijacking an aircraft nor did they know one another. They were given no training whatsoever of the mission entrusted to them. None among them had ever taken a gun or a pistol in his hand. Yes, of course they were brimming with sentiment. The hijacking was to synchronise with the Non-Aligned countries moot scheduled for 9-11 March 1983 in New

Delhi. Earlier, a plan of blasting the conference of the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries in Delhi had been chalked out which would have labelled us as CIA agents. After all, US imperialism and its allies in the world were known as the antagonists of non aligned movement. The contemplated plan of hijacking an aircraft failed because, as already said, all the four persons were untrained for the job nor had they been briefed in a group. At the eleventh hour, meaning at the time of boarding the airliner, they were frightened and without carrying arms on board, arrived in India. Three of them returned by road and came to my place in Rawalpindi.

In his letter of April 5, 1983 addressed to me, Amanullah Khan tried to justify the failure of this project. He wrote, "Major mission has failed. Some times I think it is good that it failed. In recent days a lengthy article has appeared in *The Guardian* saying that C.I.A tried to scuttle the non-aligned conference. Had our mission gone the way we had planned, there was a possibility of linking it to CIA's doings. That would have done us immense damage which we could never set right just as in the case of Ganga hijacking, there is the allegation that it was a conspiracy hatched by India to divide Pakistan. God forbidding if we had been linked up with CIA's efforts of scuttling the non-aligned conference, we would have been devastated despite the fact that the allegation was totally baseless. We would have to hang our heads in shame before the international community. And from inside, our opponents would have used it as a weapon against us. This aspect of the failure of our mission is also very important."

This shows that Amanullah Khan had not even this much of understanding of international politics that he could himself react on the comment given by *The Guardian*. He should have understood that in the non-aligned conference were also included the Third World countries who had themselves fought wars of liberation. However, one positive aspect of this abortive hijacking was that the conspiracy did not leak out and there was yet a possibility of undertaking it again. That opportunity would have been there for some time more because when I arrived in London on 19 January 1984 on a valid visa, there was a mention of hijacking plan in the course of a meeting with Amanullah Khan and two persons involved in Mhatre kidnapping case. After a detailed exchange of ideas with Amanullah Khan, I offered myself for the proposed hijacking and mentioned the names of four persons of my choice to be associated with me in the mission. The deal was settled with Amanullah Khan, six thousand pounds were involved for the expenses. He agreed and it was finally decided that a team of four persons working under Hashim Qureshi's command would undertake the execution of the mission. It was

also decided to summon to England the person proposed to be entrusted with the most crucial role of the entire scheme, i.e. bringing arms to the aircraft. Having finalised the entire plan by 23 or 24 January 1984, Amanullah Khan rang up the person who agreed to arrive in England by 28 or 29 January. In order to streamline all preparations, I left Amanullah's house in Luton for to London city to stay with a friend. Three days later, Amanullah gave me a ring saying that the concerned person had arrived and that I should immediately return to Luton. Next day, I was in Luton where in Amanullah's house, I talked at length with the person proposed to carry arms to the aircraft. We talked in full detail about matters like airport security etc. Having probed the mind of the man and having convinced myself that it was a viable plan (at least hijacking would take place without problems and what would then follow or what would have been its reaction, is a different story) I decided to proceed.

I had strong reasons to join the mission and take its command in my hands. In my opinion there was no better and more effective a plan than that of hijacking in order to seek Butt Sahib's release from the Indian prison. The Indian government would not have run the risk of imperilling lives of 350 passengers on board by refusing to release Maqbool Butt. It would have given a new direction to the liberation movement. It would have also absolved us of the blame splashed on us by the Pakistani military dictatorship and bureaucracy that Ganga hijacking was a conspiracy to fragment Pakistan. It is an irony that Amanullah Khan, the Chairman of Liberation Front, first agreed to the hijacking plan but then suddenly at 6 P.M. on February 2, told me and my friend -- an important party worker-- Afzal Tahir, to go to the house of Malik Ejaz (member Central Committee). Ejaz came to take us but when I insisted upon Amanullah Khan to tell us why he was sending us away, he said,

"Please go, something is going to happen and I do not want that your presence at my house is proved." But when I tried to drag on the discussion, Afzal Tahir and Ejaz Malik pulled me physically. Afzal Tahir and Malik Ejaz decided first to visit a video laboratory where I hired three films being prepared on the subject of hijacking. After dining at Ejaz's house, he dropped us at the residence of a party worker named Ilyas originally of Khuratta in Azad Kashmir. We watched the hijacking films during the night. I wanted to acquaint myself with the new techniques in hijacking.

The question arises if Amanullah Khan had no knowledge of the kidnapping of Mhatre, then why did he send me and Afzal away from his house to another house. On that day (it was Thursday), Mhatre

kidnapping could not be carried out. On the next day, both of us, Afzal Tahir and myself, returned to the house of Amanullah at about 2 P.M.

He said, "Those boys could not do the job yesterday." I asked him since he was seized of the idea of hijacking an aircraft, why then did he indulge in doing something there. I asked him who were the boys he was alluding to and what were they expected to do the previous day which they could not do. He said, "I do not know adding, I am not answerable to you." That day (Friday) he called to his house the owner of Luton Travels and member of Peoples Party namely Zaman Sahib, Malik Shafi, Liaqat, Tasadduq Husain and others and kept me engaged in a lengthy debate on Kashmir issue from 4 P.M. to 10 P.M. Evidently he contrived to keep me and Afzal Tahir in the company of five or six persons while Mhatre was being kidnapped the same day at Birmingham which is at a distance of 90 miles from Luton. On Friday also he did not let me and Afzal stay in his house but sent us to Shafi's place.

The fact is that Amanullah Khan wanted to leave a proof that Afzal and I were not involved in the crime. He had himself expressed it. Returning from Malik Shafi's house on the week end, he told us that the Assistant High Commissioner of the Indian High Commission named Ravinder Mhatre had been kidnapped by some people in Birmingham and they have written a letter to me asking me to become contact source for realising their demands. The police came on Saturday, enquired about me also and left. Next morning which was Sunday, a young man (Mussarat Iqbal Malik) involved in Mhatre case came to Amanullah's house at about 11 A.M. As Amanullah Khan and I came out from his house, Mussarat Iqbal told him that it appeared the police was about to land in the house of Siddiq Mirza where Mhatre had been kept. He sought instructions from him. Without waiting for a minute, Amanullah said, "shoot him and throw away the dead body somewhere. If we are caught, it will mean a disaster and all of us will be implicated." I intervened promptly and said, "Aman Sahib, shooting will be tantamount to further worsening the situation. Why not set him free and if people are caught, they will have to face the charge of kidnapping and taking hostage only and not of murder. India could take a revenge of murder. Butt Sahib is languishing in the death cell. Above all, if you had to do all this, then what was the need of calling me here and drawing the plan of kidnapping an airliner?" He did not listen to me and issued instructions of shooting Mhatre.

On Sunday, the police came again to Amanullah's house at about 2 P.M. They took us, myself and Amanullah Khan, first to Luton and then to Birmingham police station called Steel House where I was kept in

custody for 72 hours. till Wednesday. Besides the Scotland Yard, two Indian officers also make certain enquiries from me. Since if I knew anything of Mhatre case at all, it was of post-kidnapping events, I tried to prove my innocence. But the Scotland Yard and Indian officials immediately reacted with the assertion that all that took place happened only after I came to England. At the time of Mhatre's killing (5 P:M: Sunday) I was in the custody of the police. Both of us were released from custody after 72 hours and were brought to Luton. Afzal Tahir was present at Amanullah's house.

My first apprehension after the murder of Mhatre was that Maqbool Butt could be executed. Amanullah Khan tried to dispel the apprehension arguing that "India is a democratic country and her valuable asset is her credibility on international level. Government of India would never bring Maqbool Butt to gallows in retaliation to Mhatre's murder because the world will call it a policy of revenge which will bring defamation to India". This was the limit of Amanullah Khan's political vision. The first headline which the BBC news bulletin broadcast that evening said that in a meeting presided over by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the Indian cabinet decided to carry out the death sentence on Maqbool Butt.

My first reaction to this news was violent. I caught hold of Amanullah Khan by his collar and shouted at him. "You are the murderer of Maqbool Butt. I will expose you." But Afzal Tahir dragged me away and locked me in a room downstairs. He tried to pacify me saying that my becoming emotional at that point of time could prove harmful for the movement and for the emotions likely to surface following the martyrdom of Maqbool Butt. He argued that Maqbool Butt would be hanged but if I brought the onus of his martyrdom to the doorsteps of Amanullah Khan, then all persons involved in Mhatre murder case would be arrested and Maqbool Butt's sacrifices would come to a naught. The night was spent crying and wailing.

Front goes to press

Amanullah Khan called a press conference in London where Afzal and myself were present. It was attended by the British, Indian and Pakistani press correspondents. After describing the action of the British police, arrests and interrogation etc, he said "behind the kidnapping and killing of Mhatre was the hand of Indian agency RAW. It is they who contrived kidnapping and murder of their own diplomat". I gently pressed Amanullah's foot with my toe only to caution him. The correspondent of Reuter asked him "What did he think could be the benefit for the Indian

High Commission to kidnap and then murder their own official? Amanullah began producing arguments in support of his assertion that the Kashmir Liberation Army was unknown to us and he had heard its name for the first time. He said that the first objective of India was to block Liberation Front's diplomatic and political thrust worldwide. India had planned to link up Liberation Front with Kashmir Liberation Army and Mhatre case and thereby it had paved the way for declaring the Liberation Front a terrorist organization. Subsequently it would be declared a terrorist organization in the U.K. The second important objective before the Indians, he added, would be to pave the way for carrying out the execution of Maqbool Butt. He said that by linking up Kashmir Liberation Army with the Liberation Front, each and every member of the Liberation Front in UK was called to police station and served a warning. At the same time, announcement of execution of Maqbool Butt had also been made. But the correspondent of *The Times of India* asked,

"Maqbool Butt has been in the death cell in India since 1976 and he is being hanged under the death sentence pronounced in 1968. Are the Indians so foolish and mad that they would get their own diplomat kidnapped and murdered on international level and thus revive Kashmir issue when they can hang Maqbool Butt at any time?" Amanullah Khan made the pretext of time running out and parried the question. Afzal and I sat silently to hear Amanullah's 'statesmanlike' answers.

The *Jang* of London in its issue of February 9, 1984 published reports of this press conference. It said that Amanullah believed the murder was engineered by the Indian intelligence agency RAW which, according to a book written by a high ranking officer of that agency, compassed such murders. He said that during the period when he was in police custody, a police officer told him that the murderers of Mhatre were professionals. This statement of Amanullah Khan speaks a lot when we look at Mhatre murder case keeping in mind the background of the story of the plot and the dramatic personae involved. The soul of the martyred leader Maqbool Butt must be uneasy in its grave while cobbling bits and ends of Mhatre's murder plot.

Conclusion

Moving away from the events connected with Mhatre's kidnapping and murder described vividly in the same in preceding pages, let me state that my differences with Amanullah Khan were not of personal. I never aspired for cheap political popularity and I never let the blood of our workers and activists be spilled because I never wanted fame.

I never accused Amanullah Khan or his workers of misusing funds. All that I have done on the occasion of fourth death anniversary of Maqbool Butt is that I have taken the veil off the face of facts about his execution. It is a reality that Kashmir Liberation Army had been formed by Amanullah Khan himself and he had all the responsibility of its affairs. I have a letter in my possession written by Amanullah Khan in his own hand which he wrote to Dr. Farooq Haider and myself on 05 April 1983 from Luton in England. It should be mentioned that at a time when Amanullah was being tried in a British court in a case of spreading terrorism in Europe, I was in Holland and the letter in question was with me. I do not believe in politics of revenge. Had I passed on this letter to the British court, Amanullah would not have been banished from U.K but certainly would have been languishing in her jails. While the facsimile of Amanullah's hand written (dated 05 April 1983) letter is appended to this volume, we give an excerpt from his letter to provide a convincing proof for what we state :

"For your information, I may mention that I secured mandate from the Working Council in 9th January meeting of the Central Working Committee to the effect that in order to induct the third element (armed struggle) into the freedom struggle, I take any steps I consider feasible. Our Brussels mission, and an impressive mission indeed, was a part of this decision. Now the position is that you people should also strictly restrict these matters. The branch, formally not a part of Liberation Front, has been (for time being) called Kashmir Liberation Army (K.L.A). Its membership will be accepted with utmost care and only after taking oath with blood. I have formally included you two and Muzaffar in it, and the oath document drawn in blood should be sent to me but with extraordinary care. if you think it proper, you may include Ashraf, Arif Kamal and others which has to be only after you three are in agreement. This matter is separate from Liberation Front from which funds will not be used for it because Front's funds are presented in the Convention and we cannot present the amounts in the Convention spent on this head..... the military wing has necessarily to be kept away from politics. Just as the Chairman of Front, Ansari Sahib is not a member of NLF, likewise many senior office-bearers of Liberation Front are neither its members nor do they have any information of details. But there is the only difference that Plebiscite Front leadership was allergic of NLF's armed struggle. As a result KLA came into existence with the knowledge and permission of High Command. It has three wings, operational, financial and coordination. Those in the wing of operational capabilities otherwise they will be considered only mercenaries..... owing to other pre-occupations, I have not been able to work strictly on this

structure but that will be strictly one in future. One of the reasons for Butt Sahib's perils was that he did not fully act upon the initial decisions of N.L.F (meaning absolutely strict care and caution in enrolment of membership of NLF). In 1966, a particular person from Baramulla became a member and it was he who guided the Indian forces in September. He had identified for them the house where Butt Sahib was hiding. If you find anybody who is not a member of Liberation Front but wants to become a member of KLA, you should try to enroll him first in Liberation Front and then in KLA otherwise difficulties will surface and the organisation will not have full control over him..... I wish some people should come here. They may not be able to come to Britain but to other European countries and that too only temporarily not for permanent settlement or job. There are some financial constraints. Whosoever comes here, he has to be a member of KLA necessarily. I wanted to give the name of National Liberation Front to the military wing but there are serious practical difficulties, hence KLA Mr. G.M. Lone of Karachi also have a good feed back. Lone has said (according to Srinagar Times) that Ganga hijacking was engineered neither by India nor by Pakistan, but it was a personal adventure of Hashim and Ashraf. Had he said N.L.F in place of Hashim and Ashraf, that would have been far better....." **Amanullah Khan.**

This is the story of origin of Kashmir Liberation Army whose activists were identified as the murderers of Mhatre. There can be no proof more convincing and dependable of Amanullah Khan's role in its creation than the word recorded in his own hand. But it is a travesty that in his book entitled *Jahd-e-Musalsal* the same Amanullah Khan feigns total ignorance of KLA only to absolve himself of the blame of having compassed Maqbool Butt's execution. We reproduce the following relevant extract (page 150 - 151) from it.

"In 1982 and 1983, we too had contributed our share of effort for seeking Butt Sahib's release. In 1982, we hazarded an adventure in Delhi which shook the Indian government. However we did not succeed in seeking the release of Maqbool Butt. Yet one more dare - devil adventure failed owing partly to an unforeseen development and partly to a misunderstanding among the activists.

On the other hand some members of the Liberation Front floated a secret organisation by the name of Kashmir Liberation Army without my and organisations's knowledge and permission.

and engineered the kidnapping of Assistant High Commissioner of India, Ravindra Mhatre in Birmingham. The kidnappers announced that

if the Indian government did not release Maqbool Butt and his associates, Hamid and Riyaz and other freedom fighters of Indian held Kashmir within 24 hours then Mhatre would be killed. Soon after receiving this information, I pondered over the matter seriously and tried a good deal to establish contact with the Indian High Commissioner in order to find a solution to the problem. But the Indian High Commissioner refused to talk with me saying that holding talks with Amanullah Khan meant recognising Liberation Front. Indian High Commission continued to avoid discussing the issue. Then on the next day I along with Zubair Ansari, Hashim Qureshi and some more activists of Liberation Front were arrested. This put an end to my effort. On the other side, instead of 24 hours of time limit a wait of 54 hours resulted in no reaction. Mhatre was killed. Information about this happening was given to me by the police while was in police station under their custody. Soon after release from police custody, Zubairu'l-Huq filed a writ petition against my arrest in the High Court.

I and Hashim Qureshi were set free after 72 hours in compliance of the court order. The same night BBC broadcast in its news bulletin that Indian government had decided to execute Maqbool Butt on February 11, 1984. This news shattered us. At that time Hashim Qureshi and Afzal Tahir were with me. On February 9, I held a press conference in London and said that Maqbool Butt was being hanged for sins which he never committed; he had no hand in Mhatre's kidnapping. Butt Sahib's lawyer Muzaffar Baig approached the Supreme Court of India with an appeal against hasty implementation of death punishment immediately after Mhatre's murder which was rejected." (Amanullah Khan, 'Jahd-e-Musalsal', 1992, pages 150 et seq)

In conclusion, it should be said that one is pained by Mhatre's assassination for he was an innocent person and was deprived of his precious life for no sin whatsoever. At the same time Maqbool Butt was also punished for sins which he never committed. His only crime, if it is a crime, was that he loved Kashmir and Kashmiri people. On the eve of his hanging, he had said,

"I am being given the punishment for a murder which took place eight thousand miles away from here and in which I am not at all involved."

We shall have to stop politics of revenge and also the game of bringing innocent people to the brink of annihilation in the name of struggle for freedom. Let it be said that the persons who were given life

imprisonment in Mhatre case (two of them still in prison) were also used in the dirty game of Amanullah's politics.

Note:

Mhatre case was disclosed by me fully in the Central Committee of Liberation Front in 1985 but it was brought to the notice of the public in 1988. Pakistani newspapers published the entire story in 1990-91. In Kashmir and Pakistan, those who were with Amanullah till 1994, fully knew this story although they also occasionally raised the slogan "**Maqbool Butt Zindabad**". When personal interests and aggrandisements overtook these very activists, they broke Liberation Front into pieces. Had Kashmiri activists rejected Amanullah Khan soon after the execution of Maqbool Butt, as a result of his senseless adventurism and collaboration with ISI, Kashmir would have been spared the on-going bloodbath thrust on her youth.

Chapter 3

KASHMIRI NATION: REQUIREMENTS FOR SURVIVAL AND DIGNITY

Kashmiri nation has had a bitter experience. I have in front of me a few newspapers of Kashmir including the *Weekly Chattan*. Its editorial says, "A time when the survival of Kashmiri nation is at stake, Pakistan's fleeing away from the arena is a treachery with Kashmiris. A close examination of the events happening during the last two years shows that Pakistan's support to Kashmiri youth was not for the liberation of Kashmir but for harassing India. Some Kashmiri youth were given such instructions for operation in Kashmir as would lead only to harming Kashmiris without the resistance movement gaining anything. Division of Kashmiris into a number of groups is also the handiwork of Pakistani rulers. The attitude of Pakistani rulers amply depicts that they are interested in their own political aggrandisement and not in the survival of Kashmiris. That is the reason why they are overplaying Kashmir card."

Another article under the title '*Kashmir ka Taqaza*' (Kashmir Urgency) has appeared in the fortnightly *Jung* appearing from Srinagar. Stressing on the struggle for national liberation, the paper says, "this year a mammoth gathering of 1.5 million people demonstrated in Srinagar. At this stage, another massive demonstration of the same pattern could have proved more effective and result-oriented than a year long painful and harrowing war, the type of war which is fought in the streets and lanes of the Valley. For the time being, it is important for the Kashmiri people to reiterate the public response of their earlier demand on international level and consider the gun only an unavoidable partial need of the hour."

This is being stated only to remind the Kashmiri nation and the freedom fighters that from the very beginning of the liberation struggle, I had warned them on the basis of my own experience about the real objectives and the demands of freedom movement. I had done so on the basis of my personal and close knowledge of Pakistani rulers, politicians and a multitude of political parties in AK. At no time did I allow emotions to lead me astray from the path of truth. If Kashmiri intellectuals and the Kashmiri nation re-study my articles and writings since 1988, they will come to know that the experience gained by the Kashmiri journalists, freedom fighters and the people at large during past two years of bloodshed, is precisely what I had said at the very outset of the launching of the movement. I had warned against going astray from our destination and allowing ourselves to be sacrificed for somebody else's benefit. Unfortunately instead of pondering over what I said, and instead of drawing a proper plan for the movement, allegations were levelled against me for the truth I spoke. My sincerity and integrity were doubted. But since I stood for the truth, the result is that today Kashmir tells the same story which I had said two years ago.

Kashmiri youth will have to think seriously that without a definite plan and futurist programme and without the full support of a sympathetic power, it will be unrealistic to expect success of the movement with the help of a few guns. It is true that we were the people who had initiated the gun-fight. Under the able leadership of Shaheed Maqbool Butt, we had taken up the gun to win the freedom war because in those days imperialism and its stooges understood no language other than that of the gun. Moreover, the public opinion then recognised an enslaved nation's struggle for freedom only through the language of the gun. Many third world countries which had themselves won their freedom after bloody struggle, invariably supported the struggle of the oppressed nations. Geopolitical situation prevailing around Kashmir also went in favour of our freedom movement. For example, China had turned a bitter enemy of India and the US was not happy with India because of India's growing friendship with the Soviet Union. The US and the USSR were locked in grim rivalry for the leadership of the world. China had also decided to support us. But it was the misfortune of Kashmiri nation that at this critical juncture, it was mystified by the political gimmicks of Shiekh Muhammad Abdullah and his son. It had got bogged down in factional feuds of *sher - bakra*. Owing to utter negligence of the nation, the life of a great national leader, the like of whom is born in centuries, namely Shaheed Maqbool Butt, was staked by a few self-seekers for personal interests. In spite of making this immense sacrifice, we did not learn anything from history. The reason is simple. Those who controlled the movement, supported it and guided it, were neither sympathetic nor

faithful to the Kashmiri nation. They cannot ever be so. The result was that instead of a proper planning of the resistance movement, equality and temporary emotionalism were given tactical preference. The need of the hour was to keep a close watch on the situation developing around us and the trend of international geopolitics. Who does not know that today the voice of public protest has more listeners on the international level than the sound produced by firing of bullets, the wielding of the gun receives the title of terrorism against which all legal and illegal methods of suppressing the people of the State become permissible.

However, I do agree that Kashmir needed the gun so that the freedom sentiment could be awakened in the people. But whenever a movement wins public support, then it becomes incumbent upon the leaders of the resistance movement to plan at every step, and all groups and parties have to assume the role of military headquarters. The leadership must take into account the policy of the enemy, treachery by friends, movement's losses, public opinion about the enemy, economic problems of the people and the plan for keeping the public engaged in a long drawn struggle. Had this happened, then, of course, today we would not find the "Muslim in India become a law and order problem created through the instrumentality of Pakistan in the context of extremism and terrorism".

What we need to do as a nation at this juncture is to take stock of our achievements of two years of intensive struggle. We should weigh our achievements and our failures; we must evaluate two year-long actions of so-called friends for whom our struggle was only a game of their vested interests. This evaluation has to be just and impartial and we must learn to be self-reliant depending on our own resources available through public enterprise. We must also discard the claims of those who are staying outside the state in safe havens because an individual or a leader staying outside the sphere of resistance movement cannot take realistic decisions conducive to the interests of the nation and the country. It is so because they are not personal witness to the bloodbath that takes place around; they remain centred in their person, their leadership and their authority and interests. Their decision is always within these parameters no matter how much detrimental such decisions might be for the nation. The decision of owning the responsibility of the murder of Vice Chancellor Mushirul-Huq was of Amanullah Khan who was at that time in New York. At a time when the resistance movement should have won acceptance by the world as a nationalist movement, this one decision made the world dub it a terrorist movement having gunned down a renowned intellectual and scholar and head of a university. India was justified in imposing a long curfew in the wake of this killing.

In short, it is against the fundamental requirements of a freedom movement to impose on it a leadership from outside. The leadership is always on the battlefield where the struggle is going on because it has to take stock of the situation every hour; it has to come to grips with the problems of the people and has to change or modify its strategy in the wake of changing tactics by the enemy. Hashim Qureshi staying in Holland or Muzaffarabad or Rawalpindi is not capable of taking any correct decision with regard to the tactical moves of the movement. The decision which can be taken by Yasin Malik or Azam Inquilabi or Hamid Shiekh cannot be taken by Hashim Qureshi because the former are physically present at the scene of operation. Therefore leadership should emerge from within the struggle and during the struggle and real command should be in the hands of this leadership. Another important thing to be attended is that children of ten years of age and youngsters are getting killed while trying to cross the cease - fire line and enter Gilgit or Muzaffarabad. In this context, I would like to place some facts before the leadership of the resistance movement and also the nation. In the name of training, these kids are given training in Muzaffarabad or elsewhere in handling Kalashnikov and grenades for a period of seven to nine days. If after receiving the one-week training they are sent back to the Valley within one week, then they have to spend as many as six months in the camps without taking any further training. They do not receive training for more than eight days although fighting for national liberation should entail full-fledged and up-to-date training. Those who force Kashmiri youth to take on the highly trained Indian army after having received training just for a week and no more, may be playing a game of their own interest. They do not want the Kashmiri youth to receive full training because if they are fully trained and equipped with sophisticated weapons, it will not be difficult for them to take on Pakistan army one day. These external masters think that if Kashmiris with a bare one-week's training could take on the might of the Indian State, it should be no problem for them to stand up to Pakistani forces. This is the real reason why the youngsters are pushed back into the Valley after a bare one week's training. In a group of ten or fifteen, only one or two persons are given a pistol or a kalashnikov gun with the promise that "more arms will be provided in the Valley". When they are challenged by the security forces or the army while crossing the border, they have neither arms nor ammunition to resist the enemy. Thus for their motherland, they meet martyrdom because of the selfish interests of 'enemies in the garb of friends.

On July 23, 1990 thirty freedom fighters were killed while crossing the border. On September 6, 12 innocent Kashmiris were martyred while crossing the border and on 15 October another 17 freedom fighter were

killed. During the month of December that year, the tally of Kashmiri youth falling pray to the bullets was 28. Their dead bodies were found buried under snow. During the month of January 1992, three persons were killed while crossing the border. They included a ten year-old child. This is only the tip of the iceberg. We do not know in reality how many brothers of young sisters were snatched away from them, how many parents lost the hope and support of their old age and how many newly wed brides lost their youthful husbands. And for what? Only to receive eight day training course. Is there nobody in the Valley to stop this bloodshed of the innocent? Is there no leader in Kashmir to realise this tale of agony of the people, to protect the pious blood of the sons and daughters of the soil and to guard the honour of mothers, sisters and daughters? Why have the claimants to leadership in Kashmir mortgaged their head and heart and their struggle to actors beyond the border? Why do not the 'freedom lovers' of Kashmir inform their nation about the deplorable condition of nearly five thousand freedom fighters in the camps in Muzaffarabad? Did not Javed Mir say that the freedom fighters in Muzaffarabad were no better than beggars; they did not have warm cloths to protect themselves from cold, not a footwear and not food enough to eat.

Let me tell my readers that Javed Mir talked to me on telephone for 50 minutes on 29th December 1991 and related this sordid story in detail. The description has been endorsed by several other sources. It says that Kashmiri youth, the apple of the eye of their parents, instilled with the spirit of martyrdom and freedom, have become victims of dejection and despondency to the extent that they have turned into drug addicts. Their frustration is to the extent that in the third week of December 1991, Kashmiri freedom fighters made a massive demonstration in the streets and lanes of Muzaffarabad, destroyed the offices of Jamaat-e-Islami, Peoples League, Hizbul Mujahideen and Liberation Front (Amanullah), and stoned a cinema hall. On the following day, Sardar Qayyum Khan sponsored a counter demonstration by the Muslim Conference activists who raised slogans that Kashmiri freedom fighters be sent away from AK. Kashmiri freedom fighters had raised slogans against the governments of Pakistan and AK demanding that the blood of the martyrs be not betrayed. (In this context, an article written by Hamid Mir appeared in the *Daily Jang*, London, on 8 January 1991 and is appended to this article).

Let Kashmiri blood not be spilt for a game of personal aggrandisement. The columny of sacrificing the lives of youth under the pretext of imparting training be stopped. If Kashmiris are to be subjected to genocide under the pretext of training, then the same one-week

training can be given to them by their seniors in Kashmir itself so that the innocent blood shed while crossing over the tortuous mountains should not turn the waters red. If only one fourth of the number of Kashmiri youth killed while crossing the border had fallen during public demonstrations at the hands of the Indian security forces, the soul of the entire world would have been shaken and within India as well the people prompted by the voice of conscience would have raised their voice against the Indian authorities. Let the self-styled leaders of the resistance movement answer this question. But what actually happens is that innocent and worthy sons of the soil are being labelled as terrorists while crossing the border and in this way the international voice is silenced at their killing. Indian authorities say that subversives trained in Pakistan are being used against them in Kashmir. I wish Kashmiri leadership could come together and think exclusively of the interests of Kashmiris and save Kashmiri youth from being sacrificed at the altar of so-called friends. I may tell my compatriots that a few days ago Azam Inquilabi had gone on hunger strike in Muzaffarabad in protest against the treatment and policy of Pakistan and AK towards Kashmiris.

Let us now turn to some more serious aspects of the story. For the last two years, I have been crying hoarse that the logic of a guerrilla war is that you are able to inflict ten times more losses on your enemy because he is non local whereas you are fully acquainted with every inch of your land. You are fighting a war of liberation and that too against a powerful and trained organisation and the enemy is 80 times bigger than you are. What you have to do is to exhaust the enemy's stamina by making him pursue you in jungles, over mountains, across the streams and in the recesses of the land where you can make a lightning attack on him and subject him to severe losses. You can force the enemy to get scattered over a wide area and then select the ground of your choice and embark on hit and run. This tactics is going to yield far better results. In forest and isolated places, there will be sparse habitation and the security forces will have none to turn their wrath on like indiscriminate killing, burning and indulging in rape. The urban areas would not get more involved in the ensuing conflict which would ensure your supply line besides providing human resource for public demonstrations and civil disobedience. This would, in final analysis, prepare a base for a decisive victory in our favour.

But for last two years, you have been carrying the battle to the densely populated towns and villages. You have been carrying the fighting into the residential areas and individual houses. While running away, you do carry away your gun but then you expose the innocent and harmless civil population to the wrath of the security forces either to be

roasted in burning buses or made the target of their bullets. You provide the grist to molestation spree. We agree that by this tactics, you can exacerbate anti-India and anti-security forces hatred and this sense of hatred cannot be turned into a catalyst of success against India without consolidating and reinforcing it. But if you plan to launch an 'urban warfare instead of 'guerrilla warfare', then its precondition is that you arm the citizens en masse.

If that is not the case, then you are putting your own people to severe test and are imposing on them a burden much more heavy than their capacity to bear. When the people are face to face with a prospect of collapse, then frustration and despondency overtake them. Then not 15 lakhs come out on the streets; the number falls to 40 or 20 thousand and then downwards of 5 thousand. Should not this reality be taken note of?

If our respected and honourable freedom fighters do not change their strategy and continued with the heinous acts like the killing of Vice Chancellor Mushirul Huqq and Dr. Shian Koul and his wife allowing a few elements to depict the entire movement as a communal uprising based on two-nation theory, then I should be permitted to say that in return of this movement, **we Kashmiris will find nothing but a bundle of sufferings, martyrdoms, rapes, exiles, arson and destruction. We will have to become the victims of unimaginable suffering.** I am afraid lest the frustration of the common people should come to a point when they might say that the cause and source of their suffering has been none other than the freedom fighters and their resistance movement.

This frustration can come handy to any political juggler to forge a compromise. A heavy responsibility has devolved on Kashmiris in as far they are locked in a grim battle for their survival and perpetuation. It is a life and death struggle they are in. But as against it, India and Pakistan, while pursuing their respective interests, watch Kashmiris spilling their own blood. Pakistani rulers have reaped a hearty harvest by laying their hands on enormous arms stockpiles of Afghan war. With these borrowed arms, they are determined to shed the blood of Kashmiri youth only to achieve their objectives. It is only the Kashmiri who gets killed and destroyed while the two countries are engaged in a proxy war. Therefore only some dedicated and honest Kashmiri will have to come forward to fight the battle for the survival and interests of Kashmiris. This battle can be bloody as well as procrastinated. Those who think that it would be

a short affair of a few months or years, they are mistaken. Such a wishful thinking would tantamount to taking the people along the path of suicide.

That path leads to disappointment and defeat. If we compare our losses vis-a-vis India's during the two years of struggle, we shall find that not only have we suffered much more but additionally we have not been able to create public opinion in our favour on the international level. In terms of men and material, we have suffered much more. If we continue the war in the present style, then India may well go on with it for over half a century on diplomatic, political and military level.

Can we sustain it for more than five years? Certainly we cannot because we are not organised, the freedom fighters are not given proper and adequate training and finally we have not been able to obtain the support of any neutral country. In tactical terms, we have not been able to draw regular troops of Indian army onto the streets. Only security forces and BSF have been taking on us whom we drag into our houses and towns and thus we voluntarily make our position vulnerable to heavy losses.

In conclusion, I would repeat my appeal to the people of Kashmir not to become the sacrificial goats for anybody. Political leaders of Pakistan occupied Kashmir have made our death and destruction a source of their survival and sustenance. You have still time. The gun has to be treated as avoidable supplement

but mass power is to be organised as in the case of Lithuania and civil disobedience movement is to be strengthened. That will be our own movement; it will be in your hands. If only ten per cent of our border crossing casualties take place in that civil disobedience movement, the attention of the whole world will be diverted towards us because you will be without arms.

Dated ;15.01.1991

Post script: Six years have elapsed since I wrote the above article. If my compatriots care to study it with attention and make an analysis of the past six years, they will find that I was not unaware of the results that are now before us. Bargaining over the corpses of Kashmiri youth continues and people with selfish interests are determined to convert Kashmir into another Afghan ruin. (May 1997)

Chapter 4

WILL KASHMIRIS WIN FREEDOM THROUGH ARMED STRUGGLE?

The fundamental element in any nation's struggle is unity. Keeping in mind the thematic and objective circumstances of a given nation's struggle, it must have a strong, organised and ideologically mature organisation to come to grips with the serious problems that are likely to arise while the struggle is being carried to its conclusion. In particular when a nation decides to achieve freedom through the gun, it must organise a major chunk of the nation before the gun is introduced. Before the first round is fired, the war strategy has to be drawn which also means to take into consideration the possible reaction of circumstances and the enemy. Keeping in sight the war strategy, occasional modification in the planning of the struggle is also of much importance. Usually in an armed liberation movement, the losses of the oppressor are less than those of the freedom fighting nation. Therefore the freedom fighting organisation has also to plan for freedom fighting movement and also to take into its purview the planning for the development of the orphaned culture. The subsistence for the family of the martyred people and related problems have to be taken care of; families of freedom fighters taken captive by the enemy also need organization's attention; freedom fighting prisoners need legal assistance besides psychological support. The prisoners have to be occasionally visited by their relatives and friends and ways have to be found how to do that.

Organizational Discipline

But the essential requirement is that the members of freedom organization should be highly disciplined. This is so because the freedom fighter appears as liberator in comparison to the oppressor. A freedom fighter has to subject himself and other members of his organization to strict accountability at every stage in order to maintain their high image in the eyes of the community. Through that image, the spirit of struggle in the nation is constantly generated involving the entire people till the final goal is achieved. A fine example of these conditionalities is to be found in the Vietnam war in our times. For over thirty-six years, the Vietnamese fought first against Japanese imperialism, then the French and lastly the American imperialism and won their freedom. Algeria, Namibia and some other African nations won their freedom through armed struggle. But it has to be remembered that wherever in the world freedom was won through armed struggle, an organised and disciplined organization was in the forefront of that struggle. Wherever the struggle was beset with chaos and lack of direction, numerous factions usually antagonistic to one another, mushroomed. For lack of national unity, struggle of many nations was reduced to nothing more than a few sordid stories of distressed orphans, and molested modesties.

They Ignored National Cause

Two years ago, I had drawn the attention of the people to some subtle aspects of an armed struggle, Pakistan's interests in AK, India's reaction and I pointed out that armed struggle was taking a wrong path. Alas, persons becoming 'leaders' overnight through guns ignored the national cause. In order to protect their leadership, they did not pay heed to my suggestions.

The reward they gave me for my long sacrifices, unrelenting struggle, exile and for being a colleague of our great leader Maqbool Butt is known to my nation. For last twenty-two years, I have engaged myself in the struggle for the freedom of Kashmiri nation for which I have love and respect. The focal point in my struggle is **"what can I give to my nation. I have never even thought of what the nation has given me"**. Today I can see under the same emotion that the national liberation struggle is heading towards disastrous and destructive end. Motivated by my nationalist sentiment, I would like to make in-depth analysis of the armed struggle for the cool consideration of conscientious sections of our nation. In doing so I also make a fervent appeal on that basis for the redemption of Kashmiri nation and its restoration to honour and dignity.

Can we win Freedom through Armed struggle ?

I wish that Kashmiri nation should keep in view this analysis and makes a resolve to shed emotional approach. They should take a decision keeping an eye on the hapless faces of innocent orphans, the blood drenched bodies of our martyrs and shredded modesty of our womenfolk. The simple question they have to ask themselves is: "Can we win freedom and honour through the ongoing armed struggle?" If the answer is a no, then instead of dragging the entire nation to the brink of destruction, a new path should be chosen. Kashmiri Nation is gradually changing its perception of an armed struggle. A well circulated weekly from Srinagar *Chattan* made a comparative study of Afghanistan, Palestine and Kashmir. It wrote, "A surprising aspect of Kashmir militancy is that this movement is divided into numerous groups nothing by the name of unity to be found among them; discipline and control is nowhere in sight and there exists no single authoritative command. If Kashmir militancy movement is called an uncontrolled movement, it is not far from the truth. Planning and tactics have no role whatsoever and everybody acts according to his sweet will. Whosoever gets hold of a gun, considers himself an embodiment of wisdom and all powerful". This was followed by the letter of Salim Wani, the Chief Commander of Al-Mustafa Liberation Fighters published in newspapers appearing from Kashmir.

Some of its excerpts are: "The entire nation has given full support to the freedom movement. But we have to see if we are taking undue advantage of these sacrifices. What is happening with those who sacrificed their lives, property and honour when we show them the gun and threaten them. How can those be called freedom fighters who threaten their own people with guns? We have taken up the gun to deliver the nation from slavery and not to make the people our slaves at the point of the gun. Unfortunately, Kashmiris have always been driven like dumb cattle. They have never been taught the lesson of self-respect. At one time they were driven by the Maharaja and at the other time by the Congress or the National Conference. Militant organizations, too, did not spare them (that treatment). These militant groups have left no stone unturned to put people to suffering. The people are told that if you do this, you will be killed and if you do not do that, your legs will be broken." Salim Wani writes further, "Perhaps one may escape from the clutches of Indian troops but if he falls in our hands, he meets a horrible death. We are not prepared to make any concession to the 'informers'. In our book of law, an informer's punishment is death. But this is the first ever example in the world where a freedom fighter becomes an informer. After our arrest by the security forces, we are seen within 24 hours sitting in the

bunkers of these forces identifying people. Did any one among us swallow poison when captured by the security forces."

Will Kashmiri nation spare them ?

In a series of article entitled "Aye sharmanda hojaen "(Let us feel ashamed) Javed Kotwal of Islamabad, Kashmir asks some questions after making an analysing of these circumstances. He writes, " We wish that gun wielding youth were far-sighted and had thought for a while how the difficulties of common people were exacerbated. Not to speak of adversaries, even ordinary people would distance themselves from the mujahideen and their movement. A day would come when not to speak of them even the genuine mujahideen would face the hatred and disparagement at peoples' level. At that time people would not ask for freedom from India, they would ask for fredom from guns. They would ask for nothing but freedom from freedom fighters. I wish God does not show us that day."

The weekly *Chattan* of Kashmir which has a wide circulation, writes under the caption Kashmir situation." *Is tarz-e taghaful ka anjaam kya hoga*". "If this nation stands dejected and dishevelled today, reasoning is not the oppression and tyranny of India. The reason is the behaviour and action of the mujahideen of the nation which have thrown the entire Kashmiri nation into a state of chaos and confusion. Nobody had imagined that the war for freedom would adopt such norms that the gun taken up to throw India out of Kashmir would be used against our own people; school and college buildings would be burnt; Indian security forces would be provided ample pretext to let loose their oppressive machine on innocent people in densely populated localities; throats of our own people will be slit on alleged charges of being informers and traitors. Nobody had imagined that one trying to give sincere advice for collective thinking and improvement of situation would not be heeded. What is more, such a person is branded as an Indian agent spreading demoralisation thus imposing a ban on his national duty and sincerity".

The writer goes on to say," The resistance movement in Kashmir is certainly a full-fledged movement and each citizen of the motherland is deeply engrossed in it. But the traditional psyche of this nation has not still changed. This psyche is confronted with overgrown emotionalism and blind following owing to which mistakes made at crucial times have not been accounted for not to speak of correcting them. For half a century, Shiekh Muhammad Abdullah loomed large on the political scene of Kashmir. He committed some serious mistakes but the history stands

witness to the fact that the entire Kashmiri nation followed him like dumb cattle. Till the last day of his life nobody had the courage to ask him to answer the blunders he had committed. It is now two years that Kashmiris have been fighting a bloody war. But the fact remains that the fundamental character and traditional psyche of this community could not be changed. If yesterday this nation overawed by some Shiekh Muhammed Abdullah was timid enough to criticise him for his blunders, today it is intimidated by its new leaders."

This gives an idea of the direction which the movement has taken. I had, from the very outset, pointed out the wrong elements surfacing or made to surface in the movement. Every Kashmiri should remember that as a result of the enactment of law in 1953 by Shiekh Muhammad Abdullah which did away with feudalism in Kashmir, millions of peasants were liberated from the feudal slavery overnight. They became the owners of land. This was a time when elimination of feudalism was not even contemplated in India. As far as Pakistan is concerned, those who claim to have brought Islamic system, have not till date imposed agricultural tax on landlords leave alone eradication of feudalism. In that country, life and honour of the farm labourers working on the estates of feudal lords is also considered the property of their masters. Shiekh Muhammad Abdullah was instrumental in making millions of Kashmiri peasants owners of land that fed their families. The same Shiekh Abdullah has not been given due respect by his compatriots to the extent that people even ventured to vandalise his burial place (though speaking ill of a deceased person is disallowed in Islam and God alone is the judge of the deeds of the dead). Those who brought Kashmiris untold suffering by thrusting gun culture on them with the result that lives of thousands of freedom loving young, old, children, and women be annihilated and thousands of respectable mothers and sisters subjected to humiliation, should not expect that Kashmiri nation will spare them especially when despite all this saga of tragedy, freedom is nowhere in sight. The Kashmiris did not spare Shiekh Abdullah. Will they spare those who brought them to the brink of destruction? This happened when the entire nation was party to the actions of Shiekh Abdullah. When he signed the Delhi Accord in 1975, more than 1.2 million people came out on streets of Srinagar to receive him. On his death, the second largest funeral procession after that of President Nasser of Egypt, was observed.

Gun has brought pain and destruction, not freedom

The gun has not brought freedom to Kashmiri nation nor is there any sign of winning it in distant future. But what the people have met with is economic destruction. Thousands are languishing in prison houses

and interrogation camps. Well, all these sufferings would not have been a high price if only the destination was to be achieved at through of the gun. If the Kashmiris had forged ideological consensus while fighting the battle, if 124 armed groups had welded themselves into one well organised and coordinated group with discipline, and more especially if the thinking and approach of the leaders of armed movement (barring a few of them) had not been subjected to the diktat of others and if external forces were sincerely in favour of Kashmiris in their armed struggle, the results would have been different than what we find them today.

We should not forget that till 1970 or a little later, barring a few years, the then existing cold war syndrome had a bearing on all armed liberation movements wherever these surfaced in the world resulting either in achieving liberation or only in a stalemate. In the communist-capitalist lock-horn, wherever the US could harm the interests of Soviet Russia, she and her western allies flooded the region with arms and advisers. Likewise, wherever the Soviet Union found she could harm the interests of the western bloc, she did not hesitate to put everything at stake. For example in order to seriously damage the interests of the US in Vietnam war. Soviet Union, China and the communist bloc lended practical support to Vietnam. Prior to that, China had physically taken part in the Korean war. When the US supported Israel, Russia stood behind the Arabs. She supplied them arms and her advisers remained based in the Middle East. In fact Jamal Abdul Nasser almost held Yasser Arafat by his finger tip and took him to Moscow. It was as a result of Soviet Union's outright and practical support that PLO became a formidable organization. Likewise, the US and the Soviet Union stat in pitting the people in Africa against one another providing support to their proteges.

When the US found an opportunity of avenging her defeat in Vietnam, she equipped anti-Russian Afghan mujahideen with most modern weapons and billions of dollss were dumped in Afghanistan. These instances are cited to substantiate the argument that hitherto in all national liberation movements or regional conflicts, cold war syndrome had a significant role to play. If this cold war syndrome had been there at the time of Iraq- Kuwait clash, and Russian position had not changed, then there would have been only two possibilities. Either there would have been no war at all against Iraq in the Middle East or that the threat of a world war would have materialised. It has also to be noted that no national liberation war in any part of the world has ever been fought with the ideology of accession to another country. A national liberation war aims at complete freedom so that international community extends its support. Vietnam received full support from her friends but

not for the objective of acceding either to Russia or China. The US and Western countries lent enormous support to Afghans but nobody supplied arms to the Afghan mujahids on condition that they would, at the end of the day, accede either to the US or any European country. Palestine is part of Arab territory and Arab nation. No Arab country extended support to Palestine on condition that it gets integrated into any of the supporting Arab countries. Moreover, it is unavoidable for a national liberation struggle that it endeavours to establish an independent and sovereign state. Then alone can the world opinion be smoothed in its favour. A nation or a major chunk of it aspiring to accede to a neighbouring country should not expect world opinion to take care of its interests.

As we intend to reflect on armed struggle in Kashmir, it is necessary that in order to sustain that type of struggle, there should be assured perennial flow of arms for the freedom fighters. There should be a discipline and coordinated organization which can impose rules and regulation on its ranks precisely in a manner in which a regular army does. In order to bring the armed struggle to successful completion, protected training centres and the fighting force should be under the control of the central organization. Above all support of world opinion should go in its favour in any case. If that support is not in full measure, it should at least be to the extent that the world believes thinks your struggle is justified.

Pakistan Played a Game !

On international level, American and Russian interests do not clash in Kashmir. Naturally neither of the two is prepared to extend practical help to us in our struggle. Western countries do not find it in their interest to separate Kashmir from India. On the other hand, the US and the European countries today have large business interests in India. Holland alone receives billions of rupees to clean river Ganga alone. At the same time the question is whether the US and the Western countries find any of their interests realised by Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. (By way of small digression, it may be said that in the case of Afghan-Russian war, Pakistani rulers proved themselves to be more short-sighted than the Egyptians who had supported Americans against Iraq in the Gulf war. In return, they had managed waiving off the loan worth ten million dollars. Pakistani rulers, instead of getting loans waived, managed to obtain on individual level salaries from CIA). Countries of Russian bloc supported Indian stand. World opinion has a good impression of India by virtue of her being a democratic state. Even our big neighbour, China, too does not see any interest in supporting the Kashmiri cause. Reforms are being introduced in China and for a long

time China's policy has been not to get entangled in such disputes outside its borders as may adversely influence her domestic interests and her foreign policy. China is no more India's enemy. Moreover, China, too, has grabbed a considerable chunk of Kashmir territory. Thus, in final analysis, only Pakistan comes to our help but with her own conditions, i.e. accession to Pakistan. Paragraph 7, item 2 of the Interim Constitution granted by Pakistan to AK state: "No person or political party in 'Azad Kashmir' shall be permitted to propagate against or take part in activities prejudicial or detrimental to the ideology of the state's accession to Pakistan".

In connection with assistance of Pakistan to Kashmir struggle, it has to be clarified that she would continue the war in Kashmir as long as protection of her interests is ensured. This is the reason why Pakistani military intelligence extended help to Liberation Front in the initial stages. As a result, bomb on parading Indian troops was hurled by Iqbal Qureshi, Altaf Qureshi, Hamid Lala and others on 15 August 1983, the Republic Day of India. This attack triggered the armed struggle by the Liberation Front in Kashmir. While the Liberation Front had embarked on this adventure, Jamaat-e-Islami happened to be very much present in the State Legislative Assembly after taking the oath of allegiance to the Indian Constitution. This party had also been taking part in the Parliamentary elections. Since ISI extended its support to the Liberation Front in initial stages, the blunder on the part of Liberation Front leadership was that it did not accept this assistance from ISI on its own terms. When ISI found that there were some pro-Pak accession organisations willing to collaborate with it in Kashmir, it not only lent full monetary support to these organisations but also spent its power, money and influence in fragmenting Liberation Front. Finally, it stopped funding the Front. (I may mention in passing that after ISI had stopped funding Liberation Front, I told one of the Pakistani branch member of the Front that the ongoing circumstances had vindicated my stand. I said that we should accept the support of others in our freedom struggle only on our conditions. I explained to him that this was the reason why I had declined to cooperate with ISI in 1984. But that gentleman was still unwilling to agree with me. His reply was only depressing for me. He said, "At least enormous quantity of arms and ammunition has been poured into the Valley and all that we need to do now is to organise the people there.") What did the aforesaid chairman want to convey? He meant to say that at first supply arms and ammunition to the people. When they become leaders of different individual groups for personal aggrandisement, then they be told to give up these pursuits and re-group under the banner of one disciplined organization. This then is the

perception of guerrilla fighters fighting a national liberation war in Kashmir.

In short, Pakistan fully exploited Liberation Front to realise its objectives and then abandoned it and found its own people to safeguard its interests. Amusingly, ISI did not allow even those pro-Pak groups to unite and saw to it that they functioned under the banners of different parties. It was only to ensure that in case of changing loyalties, ISI was not left isolated. Liberation Front was not only denied financial assistance by the ISI, the organization's ideology also was publicised as Indian's alternative plan. In this way the media was antagonised against the Front. Through its sponsored groups, Liberation Front activists were subjected to armed assaults. Pseudo-Islamists, known for exploiting religion for personal aggrandisement were goaded into issuing decrees (fetwa) that independent Kashmir was against Islamic system. Amusingly these so-called protagonists of Islam had been swearing by Indian constitution till yesterday. And today, these people functioning at the behest of Subedars, Captains and Majors of ISI, are trying to sideline the freedom fighters from their 35 year-old struggle by issuing Islamic religious decrees against them.

Pakistan is extending support inside Kashmir only for her vested interests. By giving religious colour to the national liberation struggle, Pakistan is voluntarily depriving Kashmir's national struggle from the support of freedom loving communities in the world. Not to speak of other countries, even the Islamic states have not openly supported Pakistan's stand on Kashmir. In drumming up "Islamic brotherhood relationship" these Islamic countries offered billions of dollars to the US and other Western countries for perpetrating genocide in Iraq at a time when Kashmir was faced with bloodshed and destruction. Most of the 'Islamic countries' speak the language which the US would like them to speak. As such, they could neither come to the help of Kashmiris nor could openly endorse Pakistan's policy in Kashmir. It is obvious that for last two-and-a-half years, none except Pakistan has been helping the armed struggle in Kashmir. And Pakistan does not do so for the love of Kashmiris; she has her own axe to grind.

Why not Armed Struggle ?

On the aspect of the need for a disciplined organization to carry the armed struggle to a successful conclusion, I need not go into details. Kashmiri nation groaning under pain and suffering knows that there are nearly 124 organizations in Kashmir claiming to be fighting the liberation war. Each organization considers itself more honest and more committed

than others though most of them are unaware of an element called discipline. The third element necessary to sustain an armed conflict is the need to establish training centres from which trained personnel regularly fill the ranks of freedom fighters. Unfortunately, there are no protected training centres for the freedom fighters in the Valley. Now it is an open secret that in order to control the Kashmir liberation movement, armed Kashmiri groups are sent across the border to Muzaffarabad or the tribal areas of Afghanistan to receive training which, of course, is only superficial. When these young people begin to cross J&K border and are challenged by the trained Indian security forces, they are unnerved by the heavy fire and moving in groups of 50, 80 and 90, fall pray to the bullets on the border. They are imparted hardly one or two weeks' training. These young people are bubbling with freedom spirit. That spirit induces them to go away from their brothers, sisters and parents, from the comforts of their homes and traverse difficult mountains only to become fodder for the guns of Indian security forces.

When the survivors reach the training camps in AK, the treatment meted out to these young boys is an eye opener for those who consider accession to Pakistan an article of faith out of sheer emotion and blind following. (A few months ago two young Kashmiris belonging to Srinagar were killed in Muzaffarabad because of political intrigues of local people). Since youth from across the border now no more come for training in the centres, trained man power needed to sustain the armed struggle is not available. Had the Kashmiris been given training in real guerrilla warfare, they would not engaged Indian military power in towns and villages. Instead they would fight in forests, on mountains and at desolate places. They would have forced Indian forces to get scattered and dispersed all over Kashmir. Thus instead of getting martyred in fighting the Indian troops in forests, Kashmiri armed youth were killed while crossing the border or while trying to reach the towns. Why then do the so-called leaders and pioneers of armed struggle hide these realities for their petty interests? It is because of these concealments and conspiracies that the Kashmiri nation instead of making so many sacrifices has not been able to reach even the first destination of its objectives. It has not been able to register practical support for its movement, its struggle and its political goals. Providing arms and ammunition and medicines or resettling of uprooted people from their homes is a distant thing, even moral support to the movement on international plane is not forthcoming. There is no programme of caring for the orphaned children or providing them education; nobody cares for the family of the martyred persons. Again this is the only armed struggle in the world which has no plan for the victims of the struggle, for people deprived of their means of subsistence and for those languishing in hunger and disease. The

questionarises will the nation continue the struggle for a long period after it has been brought to the brink of economic disaster and involved in the armed movement at the point of gun? The entire economy of the community has been taken hostage. Tourist industry has almost disappeared and no income is generated on that count. Industries have been shut down; cottage and small scale industries find no customers for their products.

The plight of the daily wage earner who feeds his family is painful to explain. Have the leaders of armed struggle ever thought of these things? Have they ever thought that so far India has not suffered any serious loss. There may be some losses of lives inflicted upon Indian security forces or troops but our losses are tenfold. We have not been able to inflict any serious loss on Indian economy because the clashes do not take place in India but in the streets and houses of Kashmir and our productive potential has more or less been fully exhausted. As against Indian security forces, our youth have received only nominal training in arms and warfare. It is one thing to strike at security forces from vantage points in densely populated streets and lanes and then hide in some residential quarter and another thing to become a true guerrilla fighter to take on the enemy far away from towns.

We have made a sacrifice of nearly twenty thousand youth but in spite of that we have not been able to register even five per cent support of world opinion. Not to speak of world opinion or solid support from Islamic countries, we have not been able to win even moral support from international community. It needs no reiteration that no national liberation struggle ever achieves its goal without the support of world opinion. Just consider the trend of the world opinion. Only a few months back International Monetary Fund approved four hundred billion pounds loan package for India. On political level, the US excluded India from Pressler Amendment enabling her to continue getting loans from international bodies. All aid was stopped to Pakistan under the same amendment. The US ambassador in Pakistan openly said that no doubt Kashmiris were dealt with unfairly in Kashmir but Pakistan was adding fuel to fire by providing Kashmiri youth with arms and ammunition and that the US did not approve it. The question is why has India been able to convince the world that Pakistan, by supplying arms and ammunition to fundamentalist Kashmiri Muslims, is trying to annex the predominantly Muslim Kashmir by pitting Kashmiris against India? India has been able to convince the world that the war in Kashmir is being fought by fundamentalist Muslims and all non-Muslims have been repatriated from the Valley and forced to live in camps in Jammu and Delhi. India has been able to say that she is faced with terrorism in Kashmir and

Kashmiri girls are being kidnapped (the example of Naheed Soz is being cited). India has kept the Islamic countries at a distance from Kashmir's national liberation struggle by bringing home to them that more than 18 crores of Muslims live in India.

They argue that if Kashmir is to be separated from India and given to Pakistan, it will endanger the future of 18 crore of Indian Muslims. Islamic countries have taken note of this argument. Islamic countries and other countries in the world including human rights organizations may have condemned atrocities by the Indian security forces on civilian population in Kashmir, but nobody has openly supported the right to self-determination of Kashmiris. Nobody has interpreted Kashmir question in the light of the struggle of Kashmiris for freedom. All that they have been doing is to dole out pieces of advice for India and Pakistan to resolve the dispute under Simla Agreement. It is also true that the world is no more prepared to accept any struggle if waged through the use of arms whether the struggle is genuine. In other words it may be said that the balance of power goes against us, the Kashmiris, because the interests of the world community are not in Kashmir as these were in Kuwait, for example. As such the world powers call our conditional armed struggle (conditional because of its undertones of accession to Pakistan) only a manifestation of terrorism. As against this inhuman oppression unleashed by Indian forces is given the name of maintenance of law and order.

When we have accepted the ideology of accession to Pakistan and have launched armed struggle for the realisation of that goal, we have not been able to win public opinion. By declaring accession to Pakistan as the goal of the movement, the world has been given the message that the entire armed uprising has been engineered by Pakistan. India, therefore, projected herself as a victim of terrorism and fundamentalism threatening her democratic system. Armed groups in Kashmir threatened the forces that supported India's stand, no doubt not a correct one, and forced them to leave Kashmir. This proved that fundamentalism had been unleashed in Kashmir. As against all this, Pakistan presented Kashmir question at international level as a dispute between her and India.

I am loath to say anything against any group in Kashmir. But to me, Kashmiri nation is more important and superior to any group or party. As a committed son of the soil, I cannot see my nation drawn to the brink of disaster. Even in earlier days, I have been pointing out the wrong trends developing in the movement. But my articles based on facts and sound arguments could not be published sometimes because of the

threats handed over to the publishers and at other times because of criticising my 22- year-old freedom struggle for the 'crime' of speaking the truth. My freedom struggle which I launched under the leadership of Shaheed Maqbool Butt is as old as the age of the youngsters now leading the armed movement. I had the honour of founding the Liberation Front in AK, Pakistan and structuring it. My brother Iqbal Qureshi and Ashraf Qureshi's brother Altaf Qureshi had founded the Liberation Front as early 1983 in Srinagar. I must also inform my readers that I was among the founders of armed struggle in Kashmir. But let me say in all honesty that we had not even dreamed of the type of armed struggle that has been launched now. We had never dreamed of allowing anybody to play with the blood and sacrifices of Kashmiri youth for their personal aggrandisement or for pleasing their external masters and serving their interests.

Why Civil Disobedience !

Therefore it is necessary that we, as a nation, analyse our struggle for our existence and the goals we have set for ourselves. I, therefore, invite the attention of my readers. I have come to the conclusion that above mentioned realities, reactions and experiences teach us that we can achieve our freedom not through armed struggle but through peaceful civil disobedience. A physician changes his line of treatment if the patient does not respond to one set of prescription. The most important need for Kashmir's struggle to succeed is a political platform without which no political party can attain its goals. Even the armed struggle is also carried on through a political platform and under the guidance of political leadership. We have never heard of political leadership aspiring to lead the national liberation war with bare two-week's training in the field. We have to take a lesson from history and history cannot be falsified. Those moving against the tide of time cannot reach their destination. Therefore the gun has to be used for the protection of political platform and Kashmiri masses have to be galvanised into civil disobedience movement. This is necessary for inculcating a sense of self reliance in the people. The power of making decision has to rest with the people alone. The world at large must know that the Kashmiri nations struggle peacefully for national liberation from a political platform. Today Indian forces make Kashmiris the target of their bullets even for negligible resistance like hurling a stray stone. But in a civil disobedience movement, retaliation by the armed forces for an incident of stone throwing will have more effect than a thousand martyrs laying down their lives. This is so because under international law, Indian forces will have no right to shoot at stone throwers, slogan raisers,

strikers and protesters blocking roads. India would not be left with the option of tooth for a tooth or bullet for a bullet.

There are innumerable ways of observing civil disobedience, strikes, traffic suspension, pen downs, boycott of Indian goods etc. That would deprive India of moral right of bullet for a bullet and at the same time hundreds of our young men, in the course of border crossing, would be saved from meaningless death. This would also save and protect the honour and modesty of our womenfolk. Above all this would win us the world opinion. These suggestions can be accepted only by such persons and groups as are operating inside Kashmir. I do not dole out this piece of advice to those who are fighting the war of others and under external instructions. I want to speak only to those who are committed with Kashmiri nation. In particular, I address the Liberation Front which has been instrumental in placing the gun in the hands of Kashmiri youth in order to take away endemic fear from their minds. If the Liberation Front makes a dispassionate analysis, it will find that the gun cannot and has not guaranteed the freedom of Kashmiri nation. The Front is no more receiving the gun. Gun politics can in no way lead us to the destination we have set for our movement.

Therefore the Liberation Front should initiate civil disobedience movement for the survival and freedom of Kashmiri nation. Because of our taking up the gun, the entire Indian nation has united to oppose our struggle. With reference to their relations with Pakistan, they find a rationale in opposing our armed movement. But in the wake of a civil disobedience movement, people within India dedicated to human values will voice their resentment against the oppression of Indian security forces. Apart from this, the members of minority community who had left the Valley would also be induced to return to their homes. When they are convinced that the struggle is neither for religion nor for Pakistan but is a national liberation movement in letter and in spirit, they would also join it as nationalists. Political struggle will fill the vacuum created by 124 gun-wielding groups. It will also fill the gap created by giving divergent interpretations to the struggle and the sacrifices made by the Kashmiris. In a situation of political struggle, even ordinary persons will be able to express their views and he will also have the sense of participation in the movement. One important reason for the Americans to quit Vietnam was that the American public opinion considered American presence there as occupational. Fighting groups in Kashmir have described the masses of India as their enemies and in doing so they have not been able to convince them about their genuine rights, meaning the right to freedom.

Civil disobedience movement will initiate political process. Through courts of law and through exerting peaceful political pressures, we can protect the rights of arrested freedom fighters who are at the moment languishing in Indian jails and incarceration camps. It has to be remembered that protection of 50 or 60 arrested mujahids facing charges of murder cannot be possible without a political platform. Even the decision of launching civil disobedience is by no means an ordinary decision. But people dedicated to the cause of the national cause surrender to no distraction, and take the crucial decisions conducive to their attainment of the goals.

This will be a crucial and a hard decision. Either the people linked with ISI across the border or those in POK who sadistically watch the falling corpses of Kashmiri youth and molestation of Kashmiri women, will work as obstructionists in civil disobedience programme. It is so because they derive their sustenance from keeping the pot boiling in Kashmir. The people in Kashmir should have no confusion in realising that politicians in AK have no concern for the freedom of Kashmiris. They just want to keep the pot boiling so that they are able to achieve some mundane benefits for themselves. The same is true of AK people living abroad. Except for a handful of them, the rest are busy with their own affairs while AK politicians collect donations from the people to fill their coffers. If Kashmir reverts to civil disobedience, they, too, will have to close their shops. International organizations invariably ask one question in connection with the freedom struggle of Kashmir. The question is:

if you are fighting a national liberation war in Kashmir then why don't you come out on streets against Pakistan? Why don't you launch anti-Pakistan movement in AK? As long as intensive struggle for freedom does not take place in both the parts of Kashmir, the issue will not receive attention of public opinion on international level. International opinion is to be built through the video cameras.

I must tell my readers that if Azam Inquilabi and Liberation Front do not even now organise a political platform and launch a civil disobedience movement (as they are more knowledgeable than I am) then this movement is bound to meet a disastrous end. It could lead to a destructive war between India and Pakistan which might consume millions of people in the subcontinent. The question is will the pro-Pak accessionists, who would be responsible for igniting the flames of Indo-Pak war, remain faithful to Pakistan in case the war proves destructive for that country? Frankly speaking, they will not. And what will the Kashmiris get out of that situation? There may be another Tashkent or

Shimla Agreement and both the countries will find their economies in shambles. Kashmiri nation should never allow their struggle for national liberation to become the cause of a self-destructive war between India and Pakistan. This can be done only by forming a political platform to launch a civil disobedience movement for independence and sovereignty. In the case of a war between the two countries, the map of Kashmir may get further divided and Kashmiri nationalists will not be distributed into only two groups but in several of them. Indeed people on both sides having faith in Kashmir's integrity, and political workers and patriotic Kashmiris, should break the fetters of political expediency, bid farewell to fear and timidity, sacrifice their petty interests for a larger national interest, and perform their role for the freedom of Kashmir. If they fail to do so, history will not spare them. People in Kashmir are still willing to make all sacrifices for the success of freedom struggle but they are fed up with 124 groups. They want to perform their full role in the freedom movement not through the use of gun but through political process.

The aspirations of the masses have to be respected. The path along which the masses of people want to move is the only path which can successfully lead the movement to its destination. If we fail to do that, history and our posterity will exhume our deeds and there will be no one from security forces to protect our graves.

October 1991

Chapter 5

WHY EMBITTER UN AGAINST KASHMIRIS ?

" Boutros Ghali is American agent." "Boutros Ghali is a Christian and hence an enemy of the Muslims." "Boutros Ghali, be ashamed." "The UN is the stooge of the western countries." "The UN is not fulfilling its responsibilities in the case of Kashmir."

Such uncouth slogans are raised by the political parties in Pakistan as well as by responsible circles of Kashmiris. Nobody ever took a serious note of the role of the UN in Kashmir issue. Leaving others aside, even the so-called leadership of the Kashmiris, by hurling abuses on UN and Boutros Ghali, saw to it that the oppressed Kashmiris lost whatever little sympathy there might have been for them in the UN.

The reality is that not only we the Kashmiris but the Muslims as such are always worked up by emotions. We look at all issues in the context of satisfying our emotions and want to resolve these within the parameters of our emotions even if facts do not support our emotions. Let me cite an example. In 1971, Jamaat-e-Islami activists raised the slogan "Crush India". Everywhere in Pakistan, this slogan was graffitied on walls and doors of houses. What was the result? East Pakistan became Bangladesh and 95 thousand Pakistani soldiers became prisoners of war. Today again, the Jamaat-e-Islami and some other groups are raising the same slogan to arouse the emotions of the people. On this slogan, they even collect donations. Instead of offering any concrete action plan, they see to it that the blood of young Kashmiris is spilt.

Neither anybody asks how is India to be "crushed" nor does anybody ask how do you want us to "crush" India. Everything boils down

to satisfy the emotions. Now the most senior, the most influential and the most dignified executive of the biggest organization of international community, namely the Secretary General is being denigrated in public. The plea is why did Mr. Boutros Ghali say, "The UN cannot play a role in the case of Kashmir unless both India and Pakistan ask for it. Even then the UN may not be able to have any role. No appeal should be made to the UN in regard to Kashmir issue. If any one of the parties comes to the UN for its intervention, we cannot do anything." We do not want to examine the statement of the UN Secretary General in the light of the facts of the case, international law and the Charter of the UN itself. In order to satisfy our emotions, we hurl abuses at the UN. This means that we are not looking for the facts but for the satisfaction of our emotions only. Let us stop being emotional and weigh the statement of Mr. Ghali in the scales of justice. And by making the Indian masses, world community and its organization, the UN, our enemy, we shall be only increasing the weight of problems under which the oppressed and suppressed Kashmiri nation is already groaning. Why do we not think of adopting the path of fact finding and seeking the support of the UN on the issue? Why do we not think of exposing Indian security forces and Indian army before the Indian public for their tyrannical and oppressive acts so that Kashmiris could win the support on the basis of brutalising their human rights?

In his first ever press conference at the UN, Mr. Boutros Ghali had said in reply to a pressman's question, "The UN is concerned about violation of human rights in Kashmir but the UN will not do anything about the issue unless both parties, India and Pakistan, come to UN. If only one party comes to us, even then the UN cannot intervene in the matter."

Secretary General's role

In the first place Secretary General of the UN did not make a mention of the real party to the question, viz. the people of Kashmir. This can be explained as this. The Kashmir question in the UN was initially nomenclatured as 'Situation in Jammu & Kashmir.' Pakistan did the mistake of getting this title changed into 'Indo-Pakistan Issue' in the third week of January 1948. But the Pakistani rulers did not rest content with that. On August 13, 1948, the UN had passed a resolution to which both India and Pakistan agreed. It categorically stated that "the people of Kashmir will determine their future." The UN, thereupon appointed a commission called UN Commission for Jammu and Kashmir. On January 5, 1949, Pakistan introduced an amendment in connection with Kashmir issue. It replaced the sentence "the people of Kashmir shall

determine their future by " the people of Kashmir shall decide accession to one of the two states, India or Pakistan." India did not object to this amendment. On this basis, the nomenclature of the UNCJK was changed to UN Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP). Kashmir issue came since than is called "India - Pakistan Question" in UN documentation.

We know that the Secretary General of the UN is required to take the oath of office in accordance with the UN Charter. If he called it an issue between India and Pakistan and referred to only "two parties" to the issue, he did not default. The real defaulters and culprits are those who threw dust into the eyes of the Kashmiris and the people of Pakistan and incited their emotions. This is precisely the reason why the UN does not recognise the people of Kashmir as the party to the dispute.

Let us now turn to the subject as to why the UN Secretary General confined the atrocities of the Indian security forces in Kashmir to the parameters of violation of human rights only and why he considered UN's intervention in Kashmir out of question unless both the parties together approached that organization. The reason for this stance of the Secretary General is the Simla Agreement concluded between India and Pakistan in 1972. According to the UN Charter, any agreement between two member states of the UN will be protected by internaional law. For example, the Simla Agreement begins with the words referring to this proviso. In the same Simla Agreement, both India and Pakistan thus ruled out the role of a third party , the UN or any other international forum. According to this agreement, both the parties have agreed that; (1) Cease-fire line will be given the name of Line of Actual Control (LOAC) (2) sanctity of the LOAC will not be violated by any side and shall discharge their responsibility. (3) resolve Kashmir issue through bilateral dialogue (4) not to raise Kashmir issue at any international forum without other party's consent or unless both parties agree to do so.

Mistakes

How can the UN take the matter into its hands when the bilateral agreement called Simla Agreement is there ? However, there is a clause in the UN Charter according to which the UN can intervene in any country where according to it, human rights violations take place. But in this context we have defaulted despite having made so many sacrifices. We resorted to kidnapping and extirpation of the Pandits owing to which the UN could not become a supporter of our movement. It has also to be noted that after the exit of Z.A. Bhutto, subsequent rulers of Pakistan, General Zia, Benazir Bhutto and then Mian Nawaz Sharif, all accepted it. and by agreeing to convert the cease-fire line into the line of actual

control, maintained the sanctity of the agreement. This is evident from the example of 1990 and later on February 11, 1992. Pakistan has not taken up Kashmir issue formally on any international platform after signing the Simla Agreement. Of course, she has taken up the human rights violation aspect in Kashmir at various fora including OIC. But we ought to know better about the OIC. Many of its members have provided billions of dollars to the western countries to ensure the genocide of Iraqi children and the destruction of that country. They might as well continue to make such large contributions for another two or three decades.

It must also be reminded that the US and her allies are not without serious reservations about Pakistan. Muslims contributed billions of dollars to destroy Iraq, a Muslim country. Now sanctions are being imposed on Libya. Is there any country in the world which is prepared to stand solidly behind Iraq or Libya? There is none because no country wants self destruction as any confrontation with USA would imply suicide. How come that you denigrate Russia calling her communist and atheist and be used by the Americans as pawns when Russia was the balancing factor in global power politics. When Soviet Union collapsed US found itself hegemonizing over the world. Now if that power is using this exigency against us, we should have nothing to complain about. Those who emotionalise Pakistan and advise her to stand with eye ball to eye ball stance against the US, are indeed, not friends but the worst enemies of Pakistan. The distressing economic condition of Pakistan has been reported by a senior journalist, Habibu'r-Rahman under the title "Islamabad Diary" in the *Jang* of April 27. He wrote, "Federal finance minister, Mr. Sartaj Aziz has announced that Pakistan is running a debt of Rs.90 billion which include more than \$17 billion foreign debt." Under these circumstances a war between India and Pakistan would bring only large scale disaster in its trail but no solution to any problem. The Kashmiris would do well to understand the compulsions of Pakistan including that of Simla Agreement. There are hardly any soft options. Do they want that Pakistan should sever all relations with India and declare Simla Agreement null and void which would pave the way for her to take the Kashmir issue to the UN unilaterally. Even in that case it should be able to muster the support of at least five members of the Security Council to open the case. Likewise, Pakistani policy planners and statesmen should also show extraordinary political and diplomatic acumen in handling the sensitive Kashmir issue and save Pakistan from a disastrous war especially at a time when Pakistan is groaning under foreign debt and the western countries are looking at her with suspicion."

Indian authorities should also demonstrate extraordinary pragmatism and induct resilience in their Kashmir policy so that by

creating an atmosphere of peace in the sub-continent they are able to put their poor masses on the road to development and progress. Both the countries are spending billions of rupees on defence which they can save and spend on providing basic necessities of life to the teeming millions. In this connection, a heavy responsibility devolves on the conscientious intellectuals and politicians of India, the followers of Gandhiji's teaching, that they play their role in dissuading the security forces and army personnel in Kashmir from resorting to atrocities, oppression and rape of innocent women of Kashmir. They should impress upon the security forces to avoid indiscriminate use of brute force against civilians. In order to restore normalcy in Kashmir, apprehended and imprisoned Kashmiris should be set free, cases registered against them should be withdrawn, bunkers should be demolished in streets and lanes, security forces should be withdrawn, judicial enquiry should be instituted into excesses committed by the army while security forces and compensation should be paid to the bereaved families of those killed for no fault. Rulers in both the countries should shed their false ego in the case of Kashmir and face the stark realities.

The Real issue

Kashmiris are the real party to the Kashmir issue. As such, it is necessary that Kashmiris should give up emotionalising the issue and come out of the shell of their perception to see and understand the realities of the situation. Had they not chosen to remain within their shell, they would not have resorted to kidnapping of women and civilians in order to seek the release of their co-activists and colleagues. I have often said that the ongoing situation needs to be evaluated not on local but on international level. The world of today considers kidnapping and killing the captives as the most obnoxious aspect of terrorism. I must make it amply clear to the armed groups on behalf of my oppressed, destitute and vandalised nation that if there has been lack of appreciation on international level of the sacrifices made by Kashmiris in terms of precious lives of young and old, in terms of molestation of Kashmiri women, in terms of destruction of their property, in terms of torture in interrogation camps and in terms of vandalising of the entire nation, it is only and only because of wrong use of the gun. By accepting in a press conference in New York the responsibility of killing Vice Chancellor Mushirul Huq and his secretary, a self-styled leader of Kashmir (who could not win the support of more than ten persons in his native village), took it upon himself to allow the international community categorise the movement in Kashmir as naked terrorism. In my previous articles, I have brought these matters into focus.

Recently. I met with the Amnesty International officials to express my concern about the disappearance and possible killing of Javed Ahmad Shala. The officials of the organization gave me a video cassette which *India Today* had released in March under the title News Tack. (*India Today* also videocasts main news from India. The video in question shows interview of a kidnapped Kashmiri Pandit besides that of Javed Shala and 'military adviser' of Ikhwanu'l- Muslimeen, Yasin Butt. Both have given full details about the kidnapped and the kidnappers who killed their victim). Both stated in connection with the killing of Vice Chancellor Mushirul Haq, "Once on the road, we told them they were free and they could go. When they turned to move away, they were shot in their backs." These kidnappers even tried to rationalise the killing of their victims. But the world calls it a dastardly murder that you tell your victim that he is free to turn and go away but stab him in his back. After giving me this video, the Amnesty International officials asked me, "How can anybody make appeal for Javed Shala whose case you plead? How can we pressurise India when Javed Shala owns the murder of three innocent persons in the video film." They told me that even earlier, I had come with complaints against Indian atrocities in Kashmir. No doubt, there was oppression but the armed groups struggling inside Kashmir do no less than what the Indian security forces are doing." If you can direct your nation's struggle along the international standards of liberation struggle then the entire world could support your aims and efforts." These were the words of a responsible member of the Amnesty International. If the armed groups in Kashmir still do not learn a lesson, the result is obvious. They are not still desisting from kidnapping and are thus striking at the very roots of the liberation movement.

What is the reason ?

I wonder that fighting groups in Kashmir have not still been able to analyse why after thousands had laid down their precious lives, after the entire population of the Valley rose against India, and when Kashmir issue is still being very much on the agenda of the UN, world opinion and world organizations have not joined us on Kashmir issue. In Indonesia, the whole world expressed its unambiguous displeasure on her army firing on unarmed civilians. The UN sent its observer on fact finding mission to Indonesia. A few weeks earlier, the Turkish troops fired on Kurd minority killing 50 persons. The whole world rose in condemnation of Turkish action. Germany declared imposition of embargo on supply of arms to Turkey. In both the cases, Indonesia and Turkey, the demonstrators were unarmed. Firing on unarmed demonstrators is considered a grave crime by international community; it is unacceptable. But what is happening in Kashmir? Overnight, young people become

leaders on the strength of guns and pistols. While giving interview to press representatives, they consider it necessary to demonstrate the weapons they carry. In these conditions, international community accepts the contention of India that she is facing terrorism. Let me cite one more example. In an interview with Hindustan Times I made an appeal to the Kashmiri Pandits to return to their homes in the Valley. This was supported by Hilal Baig's party in a subsequent rejoinder. But another Kashmir-based party gave a statement saying "to call the Kashmiri Pandits back to the Valley is un-Islamic act". I wish Kashmiri people could muster courage to ask this group where does Islam say that people should be turned out of their houses and deprived of their property on the basis of religion. And if that is to be done, then it should be known that in at least half of the countries of the world Muslims are living as minorities. If they are also turned out of their homes and deprived of their properties on the basis of faith, would it be acceptable to them? I say for God's sake don't try to find justification of occupying the houses and properties of Pandits in the name of holy and humane religion of Islam. No religion on earth teaches hatred and animosity. Hence in the valley also, Kashmiris shall have to bring about radical change in their behaviour. Instead of abandoning themselves to emotive response, they shall have to be realistic and analyse facts objectively.

If we have not been able to win even 2 per cent of world opinion in support of our cause after losing thousands of lives and after having seen molestation of our women for last three years, what guarantee is there that after another three years when we shall have made further sacrifice of thousands of our youth, we shall be anywhere near our goal.

Now armed youth, too, like the security forces, indulge in rape and killing of young women as happened in the last week of March in Gaw Kadal in which three armed persons forced their entry into the house of a Kashmiri Pandit named Mohan Lal. They first raped his wife and his 19-year-old daughter Rosy and then, including Rosy's father, shot dead all the three of them. The wife of Mohan Lal had given a statement on her death bed. Armed bands have also begun kidnapping the doctors who are rendering humanitarian service. Dr. S.N. Dhar, a chest specialist was kidnapped. People should try to understand that he had stayed back in Srinagar to serve the patients. He was kidnapped from the hospital. Are you not advertently converting the liberation movement and the sacrifices of Kashmiris into untold hardships and privations for the people of Kashmir? Are you not becoming the enemy of your own nation instead of becoming the enemies of the security forces and the Indian army? This is high time that you subject your actions to

scrutiny. Do not demand such sacrifices from the Kashmiri nation which will result in the creating of more graveyards and prison houses. You need to change your policy; you need to analyse the past. In particular, the intellectual class, educated and conscientious sections of population must take the initiative of taking the nation out of present impasse of terror, suffocation and a state of emotionalism. In recent past, people in the Valley observed festivities on learning that Mujahideen had entered into Kabul calling it a victory. We know that at the instance of the UN, President Najibullah had relinquished power and the Afghan youth began to obey the orders of the newly formed council. Even then Hezb-i-Islami supremo, Hekmatyar, accepted no agreement. This led to a bloody war in Afghan capital. Both the groups are now fighting the Islamic war by shedding the blood of Muslims. The fighting will continue on ethnic and tribal basis. All the mistakes, all the wishes and all the actions should not be given the label of Islam. By doing so, you will be presenting the humane and universal religion of Islam in a wrong way. That would be tantamount to turning your head away from the Islamic laws.

We need all possible support for our freedom movement. We need to convince international community, world powers and international organizations that our struggle is just and rightful. But if we go along the path we have chosen, then even after a hundred years of continuous struggle we shall be nowhere near our goal. A carefully drawn action plan is needed to resolve problems. You may hurl abuses at UN or the US or India or Boutros Ghali. Does it mean anything? But if you carry on your struggle under a well conceived plan and in perfect discipline with peaceful methods, that would certainly make a difference for the nation. It will come out of an atmosphere of fear and suffocation; it will be delivered from economic ruination. And what is more, it will identify its destination. In this context, I had said in reply to a question of the correspondent of the Hindustan Times that after taking away the clauses of accession to India or Pakistan from the constitutions of India, Pakistan, AK and Indian Occupied Kashmir, let the people on both sides be given the right to elect their representatives who would sit at one place and evolve a final solution to the issue. A way had to be found to hold talks with India and Pakistan. Kashmir's borders be opened. But this suggestion was opposed by those who do not expect to get a vote from their own villages. Even those people also opposed who forget that they are being called leaders only because they are wielding the gun. Instead of offering any concrete solutions and suggestion, they resort to opposition for the sake of opposition. It should be remembered that the UN passed no fewer than 424 resolutions but despite that the Palestinians had to sit around a table talk so. This is in spite of the Palestinian question and their national liberation struggle being there

before the world. There is nothing like Simla Agreement with the Palestinians nor is anybody talking about accession to Jordan or to Syria. But we Kashmiris have as many voices as we have tongues. Instead of presenting their case as a national liberation movement, they are making all efforts to present it as a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan. Without a definite stand and without any programme, we go on hurling abuses on the U.N. What are we to gain out of this?

(May 16, 1992)

PS: I may remind my readers that Pakistan Parliament had endorsed the Shimla Agreement unanimously. Unless the entire Pak parliament rescinds it unanimously, Pakistan cannot wriggle out of it. Again, according to Simla Agreement, unless both the countries agree, Kashmir question cannot be raised on any international forum.

Chapter 6

KASHMIRI NATION : A TRIANGULAR HOSTAGE ?

A close study of Kashmir history reveals that for the last four centuries, this nation has been facing with many internal distresses difficult to bear. Owing to her rich natural resources, this land was also coveted by foreign intruders. The Mughals, the Afghans, the Sikhs and the Dogras, one after another carried incursion into the land subjecting the people to their rapacity. Kashmiris daring these invaders had to suffer the most inhuman punishment like getting skinned alive. The "civilized" British sold the land and its people in return for a few gold coins. While quitting the subcontinent, this imperialist country left behind the legacy of Kashmir problem which has not become the cause of suffering and privation of only the Kashmiris but owing to it hundreds of millions of people in India and Pakistan have become the victims of the ravages of three wars. This is precisely what the British imperialists wanted to do, meaning to keep the two emerging countries in constant acrimony, fighting between themselves and thus finding market for their arms. After the two get exhausted in fighting, they boss over them and perform the role of a mediator. In doing so, they control the economy of the subcontinent.

Anti-people rulers in both the countries helped the imperialists achieve their objectives by arraying their armies against each other. Thus both the countries lagged behind in the race for development and progress and now seem to be preparing for a fourth encounter. More than a thousand million people of the subcontinent, locked a grim struggle for bare necessities pass their days under the looming clouds of life and death and in servitude to oppressive rulers. It is ultimately the poor of India, Pakistan or Kashmir, who are to bear the brunt.

Kashmir is caught between the devil and the deep sea. On the one hand, Indian security forces have unleashed a reign of terror on innocent people on the other-more than 150 armed groups have made their own compatriots hostages to the gun. They do not desist from assassinating one another. Yet from the third side, Pakistani rulers have taken Kashmiris on both sides as hostages to their accession to Pakistan. For this reason, this article bears the title given to it.

Entire Kashmir nation at the moment stands hostage to India, Pakistan and the armed group in the Valley. All the three kidnappers want to bring the Kashmiri nation like their own masses, to the brink of a disastrous war. Cliches like freedom, integrity, security and religion are drummed up to drive the dumb millions of the subcontinent like cattle-head. For their mistakes, weaknesses and oppressive machinations, all the three anti-people parties are trying to pass the buck to those who stand for a peaceful solution to the issue.

Let us now deal with each one of the three parties. First we examine the stand of India. As a nonaligned and the largest democratic country, India is generally given regard by the comity of nations. (If any Pakistani feels angry on saying so, we can't help it but the facts are facts). Even in Islamic countries, India commands some respect. In the veins of India's economy, there is a thick stream from Middle East countries. But because of Kashmir question, India's image as a nonaligned country and a big democracy could get tarnished. It appears that Indian rulers, bureaucracy and politicians do not want to or cannot learn a lesson from history. They want to suppress people's uprising in Kashmir through imperialist policy of unleashing brute force, oppression and incarceration. The result is that the respect and dignity which India enjoyed owing to her neutrality and democracy has been eroded by the atrocious behaviour of her security forces leading to violation of human rights in Kashmir. Various human rights organizations are issuing reports detailing human rights violations perpetrated by the Indian security forces in Kashmir.

In 1992, Amnesty International issued a 195-page report under the title "*India: Torture, Rape & Deaths in Custody.*" The report covers the instances of violation of human rights by the Indian security forces like torture, custodial deaths and rapes all over India. With regard to Kashmir, the report says as this: "Yesterday I discharged a patient, aged 18-20, who had been in this hospital for three months. Twenty per cent or more of his body had suffered deep burns from a hot iron press: these burns were so serious that I and other doctors had only just succeeded in saving his life. He had also been shot at with a bullet in the armpit. His

torturing with the cloth-iron had all been done during interrogation by the regular army at Sopor". This interview had been given in December 1990 in Srinagar hospital by a doctor. Further, on page 21 of the report, we find this: "Mobina Ghani told one reporter: We were crying bitterly. I told them I had not yet seen my husband, but they did not listen. Four to six persons raped me, I think." Under the title 'Death in custody', particulars of 27 persons have been given who died as a result of torture in the custody of security forces. This is happening in Kashmir where the fighting continues. Even in Delhi, it was reported that 73 persons were killed while in police custody and 61 in Madhya Pradesh. Hence with these stories around, it is unrealistic to agree with the Indian authorities that nothing is happening in Kashmir. The stories of oppression against the Kashmiris by the Indian security forces and for which proofs are available on global level, are labelled as propaganda against the security forces by the authorities. This is not acceptable. In the *Al Safa* of September 18, one K.L. Koul issued an appeal from a refugee camp in Jammu which was signed by many respectable persons of Pandit community. (It is pertinent to note that these are the very Kashmiri Pandits who are displaced from their homes and land owing to Kashmir issue). The appeal said, "We join Shri Koul and strongly condemn the atrocities that are being unleashed on our brothers by the Indian occupation forces."

Not only this, various human rights groups in India itself have protested against the violation of human rights by the Indian security forces. The reports of Justice Tarkunde and of the Civil Liberties Group are a scar on the face of Indian democracy. India's identity as a country of non-violence as preached by Gandhi and Nehru is also getting tarnished in the world opinion. Gandhiji had gone on fast unto death in order to stop Hindu-Muslim riots in Calcutta. With regard to Kashmir, he had categorically said,

"Kashmiris will have to be given their right according to their wishes. If it means shrinking of India in terms of territory, let it be. If her soul is pure and just, India can become the cradle of non-violence. If India cannot keep the Kashmiri people acetified, then her image will be distorted in the eyes of the world community".

(Quoted from *Atesh-e-Chinar*)

Would the Indian intellectuals, peace loving people and followers of Gandhiji, upholders of human rights and lovers of justice and freedom in India, like to ponder over the oppression of Kashmiri people by the

Indian security forces keeping in mind what Gandhiji had said? Will they keep in mind the condemnation of these atrocities on international level and realise that the predictions made by Gandhiji are coming out true. Is not India's peace-loving and democratic face getting distorted. India should not also forget the announcement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in which he had upheld the right to self-determination of Kashmiris and said,

"Kashmiri nation is not a herd of sheep who India or Pakistan would like to drive according to their wishes. Kashmiris are intelligent and brave people who have every right to remain free and self-determined."

the light of these realities, Indian politicians, sympapthisers, intellectuals and rulers need to reconsider their policy on Kashmir and accept the right of Kashmiris to self-determination so that the face of Gandhiji's India is not distorted.

Let us now take into consideration the position of the other party which has made Kashmiris hostages to its aspirations. Basically, the gun had been taken up in Kashmir for acquiring and protecting freedom, self determination and the human and other rights of Kashmiris. But gradually we found that the same gun instead of protecting and guaranteeing the freedom and the rights of people, became the source of their oppression and tyranny. No fewer than 154 organizations sprang up in Kashmir. Instead of becoming united, Kashmiri people got further divided into groups for petty differences. Instead of providing the masses any alternative programme of easing their problems, they were further made to carry the weight of strikes. Having received a few days training instead of intensive guerrilla training, some youthful mujahideen became emotional and fired at security forces while mingling up with crowds. In this way they made the civilian groups the targets of the bullets of security forces. Not only this, the rich library and science laboratory of Islamia College were set on fire apart from torching many other school and college buildings in the Valley arguing that security forces camped in them. Indeed the security forces occupied the destroyed premises while schools and colleges which are precious gifts for the nation, were reduced to ashes. It was poverty of strategy and understanding which resulted in exchanging fire with the security forces from the library of Hazratbal shrine with the result that the magnificent library of the shrine was destroyed.

Let us also cast a glance at the social character of the movement. From the ranks of the movement launched to obtain the lofty objectives of

freedom, activists began interfering in domestic and personal and mundane matters. They became parties in husband and wife conflicts. Previously what the Congress and National Conference goons used to do was replicated by the gun totting youth. Trees felled in forests were loaded on trucks and brought to towns by timber smugglers declaring that the truckloads are for such and such mujahid or militant organization. In this way forests, which are the property of the people and on which depends the life of future generations, were deforested. People began to be kidnapped at gun point in order to pay huge sums. The conviction of the mujahideen is also worth noting. Those who called themselves mujahids till the day of their arrest, became the veiled informers for the security forces just a day later and rode their vehicles for identifying their comrades in arms.

Towns were brought under severe economic pressures. Hundreds of people suffered for want of basic requirements reducing them to penury and deprivation. Many senior citizens were kidnapped which obviously deprived the movement of for substantial support on international plane. By kidnapping and murdering intellectuals, doctors, professors, vice chancellor and civil servants, the bloody struggle failed to win international support as a national liberation movement. Only some human rights organizations speak about the violation of human rights. Then ensuing inter-gang kidnapping and killing of activists which caused a severe damage to the national liberation movement. Ninety-year old elderly Maulana Masoodi was done to death. Strangely enough, the leader of the Jamaat-e-Islami, Mr. Gilani offered 'fateha' at the grave of Maulana and condemned his killing. Not only that, the entire property of the disabled son of the Maulana was set on fire. Mir Waiz Maulana Muhammad Farooq also fell to their bullets. Mr. Mohammad Shaban Vakil, the editor of Al Safa was gunned down in his office for speaking and writing the truth. The blood of Mir Mustafa was spilled and a practising doctor of the minority community, Mr. Koul was called from his house and gunned down along with his wife. Apart from this people were done to death for personal vendetta, and afterwards were labelled as informers. A girl of the minority community named Rosy was raped and then she, her mother and her father all the three were gunned down. The people of Kashmir came out of their houses in protest on this brutal killing but they were silenced by telling them that the victims were "Indian agents". Thus instead of meting out justice and fighting against tyranny and barbarism, the heinous crime and brutality was sought to be put under cover. But one should appreciate the courage of Kashmiri women who brought out a strong demonstration on the roads in protest against the killing of Rosy and her parents. Oppression is oppression whosoever does it.

Those who swear by justice and Islamic system should remember that during the caliphate of Hazrat Omar, the Governor of Egypt had ordered lashing of an innocent person. The caliph ordered that the victim should strike the lashes on the back of the Governor. In fact once Hazrat Omar had not hesitated to lash his own son who collapsed under the torture and died. But today in Kashmir, the so-called Islamists kidnap one another's people and kill them in the name of Islam. Akhtar Rasul and Mohammad Rashid were kidnapped and murdered. Both had obtained Ph. D degree in Arabic. What service was rendered to Islam by kidnapping and then killing the brother of Maulavi Javed?. Malik Maqbool of Operation Balakot was not only brutally killed but his eye was gouged out and his beard was burnt. This brutal act had evoked large scale public resentment. The secretary -general of Tahreek Hurriyat (Freedom Movement), Mr. Azam Inquilabi, resigned from his post saying that unless the assassins of Maulavi Farooq, Muhammad Shaban Vakil and Malik Maqbool were publicly hanged in Lal Chowk, he would continue to remain outside the Tehreek Hurriyat Union. The same Azam Inquilabi, who has dedicated his whole life to national interests, was in tears when he heard about the killing of Malik Maqbool. In this connection we would do well to bring to mind what the Holy Prophet (PBUH) has instructed, " Do not desecrate dead bodies" or " Do not kill like barbarians. The holy Quran also asks people to desist from shedding the blood of the innocent.

But in my Kashmir, armed groups have unleashed the tyranny and brutality of the days of Chengiz, all in the name of freedom of Kashmir. Malik Maqbool was kept in custody for eight days and finally made a target of terrorism. He was killed brutally and in most inhuman manner. Will the Kashmiri nation have the courage to ask the so-called mujahids of freedom whether Kashmir would win freedom by kidnapping one another and then killing them? The movement was initiated suddenly without any concrete planning and far- reaching strategy. Naturally anti-movement events could not be avoided to happen.

I wrote in 1990 that with the help of the gun we have established our bravado but now there was the need for civil disobedience greater than the gun so that we could register international support. One could clearly foresee that disorganised and undisciplined armed groups would succumb to personal and group interests instead of remaining steadfast to the objective of freedom, and in doing so, they would indulge in killing one another. This is precisely what they are doing. Even a more dangerous dimension of the situation is that evidence is being provided to show that Pakistan is involved in the affair. For example celebrating 14 August (the independence day of Pakistan), naming armed groups as *Zia*

Tigers or Qaid-e-Azam Tigers etc Naturally India presents these acts to the world as proof that Pakistan is manoeuvring the movement in Kashmir and that the question is not of the freedom of Kashmiris. We must remember that if the Kashmiri nation continues the struggle in the name of accession and not in the name of freedom and self-determination, it will not embrace success even if the struggle goes on for a century more.

One fails to understand why should religious fanaticism take precedence over religious tolerance when essentially this is a war for national freedom. What does it mean asking Mr. Narasimha Rao through the newspapers to convert to Islam? What do the Jamaat-i-Islami activists want to achieve by inviting mujahideen from Afghanistan and other countries to join the freedom war in Kashmir? Do they want to drag Pakistan into a war and thus contrive the destruction of both the countries? By involving such elements in the struggle as would create the impression that the struggle is not of Kashmiris but for some other agency, would only bring untold suffering and destruction of Kashmiris. The movement will not be able to find any support on international plane despite making so many sacrifices.

One reason for this debacle is the anti-freedom activities. Is not Jamaat-e-Islami satisfied with the genocide in Afghanistan so that she must now turn its guns on Kashmir? Let us cast a glance at the record of past three years of the Jamaatis and other pro-Pak parties. It will show that these parties have been fighting less against the Indian forces and more against pro-freedom parties in Kashmir. Patriotic Kashmiris have not only been killed, but their eyes have been gouged out, beards burnt and their bodies blasted by bombs.

In order to rescue the movement from this cauldron of disaster, there is the great need of patriotic and freedom loving nationalists on both sides to galvanize themselves into action. These nationalist forces want to see Kashmir free and sovereign and have also made valuable sacrifices for that purpose. Otherwise Kashmir will be divided in the name of religion becoming a slave either of one or the other. Is it not possible for the nationalist and pro-freedom Kashmiris to abandon their superficial differences and their egos and unite into a single force? These elements should have clear understanding of economic and social problems arising out of this disorderly war. For example, our Pandit brothers and sisters, driven out or having come out as a result of fear, are living in camps in a state of utter helplessness. In terms of nationhood, Kashmiri Pandits are our brother and their womenfolk are our sisters and mothers. The Pandits born and brought up in Kashmir are as much

the inheritors of Kashmir as those who are fighting her national liberation war.

Apart from this, there are other economic problems in the Valley like labour, tourism and dependence on local productions for sustenance of life. There are serious problems of the labour class in Kashmir. The situation has now come close to starvation. The slaves of blind force have never cared to ponder over the problems of these destitute compatriots. Addressing these problems is not necessary only for the reason of enlisting public support for the movement but more so because India would not be able to bend the people. By overlooking these problems, the Indian rulers will weaken the spirit of Kashmiris and disfigure it. Furthermore by taking the people as hostages and denying them the right of freedom of expression, you would yourselves become the enemies of the freedom movement.

I make humble appeal to you that by the methods you have adopted, freedom will not dawn upon us; we may leave behind some stories of 'bravery', some stories of heart-rending tortures, a saga of helplessness of widows and orphans, and nothing more. Therefore, not only I, but every sensible and conscientious Kashmiri thinks that not the gun but civil disobedience would ensure our freedom. Everybody knows that the gun has made Kashmiris its hostage and unless true mujahideen liberate the people from this hostage syndrome, the masses in Kashmir will not be able to attain freedom either from India or Pakistan. Before making final analysis, I would like to tell Kashmiri people something about the attitude and the policy of Pakistan, the third party which has made them its hostage. I would also like to present some facts about the economic condition of Pakistan which may, in all probability, cause some pain to some blind followers of Pakistan in Kashmir. Facts are as bright as the sun whether we accept them or not. The sun must cast its rays and if we call autumn by its proper name, it does not mean betrayal of the garden.

Common and committed Kashmiris are in a delusion that Pakistani rulers are in favour to the right of self-determination for the Kashmiris. This, in fact, is only propaganda and if we make its practical analysis, we will find that the attitude of Pakistani rulers towards Kashmiris is nothing different from that of the Indians. If in the Indian constitution of the Indian held Kashmir loyalty to accession with India and its inseparability from the Indian Union have been stipulated, In Azad Kashmir taking an oath in accordance with the interim constitution of 1974, particularly number 7 sub-section 2 stipulates allegiance to state's accession to Pakistan. No person or party in the state

is permitted to work against the concept of its accession to Pakistan. In POK, nobody can fight election without signing the oath of states accession to Pakistan. In 1984, some of my friends suggested that I contest election from Murree on a mohajir seat, I declined it owing to the condition of signing the oath as mentioned above. After my refusal, Farooq Shah fought on that seat and won it. Furthermore, the President and Prime Minister of POK are also required to sign the oath document in accordance with pages 47 and 48 of the same interim constitution which stipulates loyalty to state's accession to Pakistan and loyalty to Pakistan. In such a situation, no law anywhere in the world will accept the stand that a country supports the right to self-determination of a people but in the same breath considers its right to self-determination as accession with the same country. This attitude of Pakistani rulers can in no case be considered supportive of our freedom. All that one can say is that Pakistan wants to help us in making us her slave.

Kashmiris should also take into account the treatment of Pakistani rulers meted out to the people of Gilgit and Baltistan in the context of POK. If they fail to realise what has been happening in these areas since 1947, then of course I should be excused in saying that the Kashmiris are not alive in their conscience. In mildest terms you deserve to be called followers of blind faith and in more reasonable terms you would be called an instrument of foreign countries in your own home. Pakistani rulers, first of all detached Gilgit and Baltistan from POK thus creating an ideological gulf between the people of the two regions. Relations of political fraternity between them were weakened. For nearly 25 years (upto 1975) Pakistan imposed its rule over the area under Federal Crimes Regulation (FCR) by deputing an official of the rank of a secretary or deputy secretary as Resident. In true footprints of the British imperial colonial system, a secretary or deputy secretary level Resident in Northern Areas was combining in himself everything, the court, the law and the government. When the period of autocratic residency came to an end, the people of Gilgit and Baltistan continued to be denied their rights. All that happened was that the nomenclature Resident was replaced by Administrator who became the arbiter of the destiny of the people there. It may be a news to the people worldover that nearly 1.5 million population of Gilgit and Baltistan still do not have the right to seek justice in the Supreme court of POK or Pakistan. In other words the doors of justice for the people of these areas are closed after the Sessions Court. Thereafter they are at the mercy of the Administrator.

On the economic front, the situation is that there is no industry or factory. Means of production are nonexistent. On the educational front , a university or medical college or engineering college is a dream. If any

bright student wants to continue his further education, he is relegated to a quota system which sends him to some far off nook of Pakistan to receive higher education, thousands of miles away from his native place. Then he gets cut off from his cultural environs of Gilgit and Baltistan invariably forgetting his path of return to his native place. In short Pakistani rulers have adopted the same policy and norms of treatment towards the people of Gilgit and Baltistan as had been adopted by the British towards their colonies including India. Pakistani rulers took the people of these areas as slaves inherited with transfer of power. The truth is that in 1947 the people of Gilgit and Baltistan staged an uprising against the rule of the Maharaja without assistance from anybody. They had liberated the entire area. But unfortunately they themselves invited the Pakistani rulers to send their representative to Gilgit and Baltistan with the result that the people in these areas are reaping the fruit of this Himalayan blunder to this day.

Let us have a look at Azad Kashmir. The Ministry of Kashmir Affairs has been created only to bring political jugglers to loggerhead thereby subjugating them to the will of the secretary of that ministry. Even an ordinary functionary of this ministry makes the ministers and advisers of Azad Kashmir to dance to his tune. The type of 'fraternity', 'Islamic brotherhood' and 'sympathy' shown and demonstrated by the Pakistani rulers with Azad Kashmir is fully reflected in the statements of the Azad Kashmir politicians themselves. (It has to be noted that a freedom-loving Kashmiri calls that part as Azad Kashmir but a Pakistan Occupied Kashmir or POK). Here are a few examples of the statements of AK ministers.

The *Dawn* of Karachi, in its issue of August 21, 1991, published statement of a former Prime Minister of AK in which he had demanded the royalty on Mangla Dam from Pakistan government. The amount computed at nearly 40 thousand million rupees. An interesting facet of this statement was the revelation that the government of Pakistan has not till date given its share to AK from central revenue tax fund though according to the Pakistani constitution each province of Pakistan and the territories of the federation are to receive from this fund their share according to the respective population proportion. This share of AK comes to nearly 32 thousand million rupees. The former AK Prime Minister also said that the property of AK in Pakistan's possession valued at tens of millions of rupees. AK has not been paid the rent on this property till date. Again on August 23, Mumtaz Rathore, the then Prime Minister of AK demanded in a press conference that Gilgit and Baltistan be merged into AK and Pakistan should withdraw her troops from that area. The *Dawn* of Karachi reported that Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan demanded

in a public meeting that the ministry of Kashmir Affairs be dissolved because, as he put it, the ministry was working against the interests of Kashmiri people. The *Jang* London reported in its issue of August 11, 1991 "Sardar Qayyum Khan said in Lahore that there was neither any literature on Kashmir available in Pakistani embassies abroad nor was the embassy staff interested in making available any concrete information on this issue".

Thus such demands are being occasionally made by AK politicians. Recently as a result of persistent demand made by the people in NWFP, the province was paid an amount of four thousand million rupees as royalty on Tarbela dam. If the people of AK speak of payment of royalty to them on Mangla Dam, they are branded as traitors. Furthermore, after signing the Simla Agreement, the regular army of AK was disbanded and amalgamated with Pakistan army. The personnel were then forced to sign the accession to Pakistan documents certainly against their free will. Having done that, the rulers in Pakistan did not provide a single medical or engineering college or a technical institute to the forty lakh people of Gilgit and Baltistan and Azad Kashmir. Radio and Television station are far off things. Even the namesake university is no better than an intermediate college. About industries in AK, there is not even a single industrial unit which could be called as employment generating unit.

But of course, in order to evade payment of taxes, a few Pakistani entrepreneurs have established a factory for assembling motor parts of Vespa scooter. There are a few units producing plastic bags. In AK, there was the scope of establishing sheep and cattlerearing farms which could supply milk products and mutton not only to Pakistan but also to the Middle East countries this is being deliberately neglected to stay economic enslavement of the people of AK. People of AK are generally seen taking up menial jobs like Chowkidars, hotel bearers, dish-washers etc. in Pakistani cities. Many of them are also forced to abandon their native place and proceed to foreign countries in search of a livelihood. Through the sweat of their brow, they earn some money and the foreign remittances come to Pakistan where Pakistani rulers swindle them thus killing two birds with one stone. The hardships born by these self-exiled Kashmiris are innumerable. They are often overtaken by frustration and are unable to think about the freedom of their motherland. And if a small section among these emigres does think about Kashmir, it is only about the freedom of the Indian part and the prevailing oppression there as propagated by Pakistani media. If some 'recalcitrant' fellow refuses to fall in this trap, he is sure to be branded as Indian agent, enemy of Islam and a communist.

In the name of freedom Indian Occupied Kashmir, the people of AK, Gilgit and Baltistan have been subjugated to worst type of economic and political slavery. The unfortunate people, bereft of medicare and economic comforts have been made to indulge in infighting only to catapult this or that person to political leadership of AK and all this in the name of freedom for Indian part of Kashmir. Who is there that would not appreciate the art mastered by these 'venerable' politicians of AK ?

Sometime in July 1983, I was arrested and brought to Rawalpindi. A ban on my entering AK was imposed and I was set free. I hid myself in a truck carrying cement bags and travelling by night arrived in Rawlakot. Addressing a public gathering I said, "You people of Kashmir, you are spread out in Europe and the Middle East. You remit crores of dollars in foreign exchange which is more valuable than the very blood in the economic veins of Pakistan. But you are not given an industry in AK which could provide employment and means of subsistence for your future generations. You must not forget that when your earning in a foreign country comes to an end or when remittances are stopped, then you will have to sell your property, refrigerators, TVs and other household goods in the bazaars of Rawalpindi and you will have to borrow money to pay for the carriage. Think of your future generations who will have nothing to sell and the want and necessity will force them to become highway robbers and looters". At the moment, a majority of people from AK is to be found in Europe, the Middle East and the US. They are passing through a difficult phase; they are rendering hard labour and saving each penny and are remitting billions of dollars by way of foreign exchange to Pakistani governments annually. But till date no such scheme of employment has been conceived and implemented which could provide assured means of subsistence to the future generations and save them from moving from pillar to post. Even today when a Kashmiri in the Middle East loses his job or gives it up, he cannot find an employment here despite the fact that he is very hard working and talented. He subsists on a chunk of money he has saved from his earnings abroad and then gradually begins to dispose off his wife's ornaments, household goods etc. Then he begins paying regular visits to some recruiting agency. This practice has been going on for last 25 years and now even the second generation of emigres is also facing the same situation.

There does not exist any women's hospital for the medical treatment of our sisters and mothers. In the town there is a small number of lady doctors who can be counted on finger tips. But in rural and mountainous areas, where people, young, old, children and women are afflicted with various diseases, have no medicare and left to their fate, the

candle of their lives gets extinguished while their near and dear ones watch them helpless by. Many of my friends living abroad occasionally pay a visit to their families. Generally during these visits, they have been seen accompanying their elderly parents or sisters and brothers to Rawalpindi to provide them medical treatment. Half the period of their holidays is spent on this exercise and soon they are forced to part company with their dear ones and carry back the sad reflections and pain of their suffering again to work and earn and send foreign exchange for the comfort of Pakistani rulers. Those who talk about the accession of the entire State to Pakistan despite distinctly perceiving how they remain enchained in economic fetters, in truth want to support further political and economic strangulation of my countrymen. And they want to legalise all this so that loot and plunder of Kashmiris becomes more rampant. Now you must consider whether such people would be called the sympathisers and well-wishers of Kashmiris?.

Sometimes we hear some murmur about religious links with Pakistan being raised by those who have taken the Kashmiris as their hostage — the third party. Let us remember that Hekmatyar, Rabbani and Ahmad Shah Masud too are Musalmans and so are the people of Afghanistan. All of them have fought against Najib and Russia for twelve years. But today the mujahideen, surcharged with the sentiment of 'jehad' are mercilessly killing Afghan children, women and old people. Hekmatyar rained rockets on Kabul killing innocent Afghans and destroying thousands of houses. All this should be an eye-opener for Kashmiris. If the seeds of hatred on the basis of religion are sown in Kashmir, then Islam will, undoubtedly be used for superficial political ends only. This will not cause only permanent destruction of Kashmir dragging it into the vortex of communal strife, but it will also bring defamation to Islam throughout the world. When different groups of Muslims will be fighting among themselves and a non-Muslim will appeal to them to spare the hospitals so that the patients could be provided medical aid, then in such a situation no service will be done to the cause of Islam. (It will be recalled that when the Muslim commanders in Afghanistan were raining rockets on one another owing to their differences, the representative of Red Cross Mr. John Micheal Mono, appealed to them not to attack the hospitals).

Again we see that Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Iran are also Muslim countries. But in the Gulf War, first the Iraqis began destroying Kuwaitis and thereafter Kuwaitis and Saudis inviting the assistance of the US and other big powers in the west started the massacre of Iraqis. An Islamic state even gave a billion dollars dole to the super powers in

order to perpetuate genocide in Iraq. Iran and Iraq also waged a bloody war for a decade which took a toll of about 1.2 million Muslims.

For God's sake do not bring defamation to a holy and humane religion like Islam, which teaches goodwill for the entire humanity, by using it for group interests and power politics and blind interests. Do not complicate the work and life of those who are rendering dispassionate service in the propagation of Islam. Do not make things difficult for the Muslims living in western countries. Owing to submission to group interests and sectarian proclivities leading to killing co-religionists, the Muslims all over the world are branded as terrorists and their religion as violent. This is a travesty of the truth. Islam is based on principles of humanism, tolerance and mutual respect. The Holy Quran says "shedding innocent blood is shedding the blood of entire humanity". The Holy Prophet (PBUH) had, in a battle, spread out his sheet for a prisoner woman. He forbade making women, children and elderly people as prisoners of war. But contrary to these teachings, a puritanic person like Malik Maqbool was kidnapped, tortured and finally butchered. His beard was burnt. Is this all permitted by the Holy Quran or *hadith*? Should not the Kashmiri nation put this question to those who claim to be the upholders of Islam?

The truth is this is a dirty game of politicians, the game of one-upmanship and the politics of power. Generally common people are justice loving, honest and peace-loving. Political groups are not able to register support of the common man if they disclose the true nature of their intentions and schemes. As such, they take recourse sometimes to religion and sometimes to the rhetoric of economic development and sometimes in the name of nationalism fomenting antagonistic feelings among them and incite them to violence.

The most unfortunate part is that a common man becomes a victim because of his simplicity and honesty. He has golden dreams of the future and therefore falls a prey to group politics. The result is that such people do not only go astray from the right path but virtually take the path of murder, loot, oppression and atrocities. Naturally they have to pay the price of their dreams. This has been happening with the poor and ordinary people generation after generation. Who can say how long the exploitation may continue unless the poor and oppressed people become aware of their rights, their value and their consciousness which would enable them to call the exploiters to account. Then only can they identify them in whatever disguise they might appear.

Therefore nothing can be achieved by making Kashmir issue a religious issue and then dragging the entire subcontinent into the destructive flames of war. By declaring jihad and by inviting the Afghans into Kashmir, all that the Kashmiris and the people of the entire subcontinent will face would be the destruction of war. They will sink further deep into economic backwardness. In this connection, it would be only relevant to reproduce from the August 1diary of the elderly Pakistani journalist, Habibu'r-Rahman. He writes: "Pakistan has entered the worst phase of her economic crisis. She is virtually standing on the threshold of bankruptcy. Asian Development Bank has disclosed that Pakistan owes nearly 50 billion dollars by way of foreign debt, surely a whopping figure. In the previous year, Pakistan suffered nearly 230 thousand million dollars as trade deficit. Service charges on debts amounts to 150 thousand million dollars annually. The analyst writes that if this trend is not arrested, then it may be difficult to meet our defence requirements; there would be no foreign reserves to meet the expenditures on account of purchase of new weapons and spare parts for the existing weapons". Mr. Habibu'-Rahman has also spoken about the religious frenzy raging supreme in Pakistan and has warned that like Iraq, Pakistan has come to the brink of disaster. Here we reproduce some interesting observations of this journalist.

" Our foolhardiness and lack of prudence have reached the limit that for last six months we have been repeatedly speaking about atomic weapons of Kazakhstan trying to make the people believe that in a situation of need, we could make use of these. As such, Pakistanis had to fear none. This is a massive self-delusion and misleading the simple folks of Pakistan through a conspiracy. In the past, nobody came to our help when we were faced with predicament and if there befalls any new misfortune, nobody will have the need to come to our rescue. There appears no logic in presuming that others would offer themselves to replace us. It is imperative that we adopt an attitude of self-comprehension and understanding if we want to ward off any calamity looming large on our head. There is hardly any sense of gloating over the victory in Afghanistan. Afghanistan has not won; she is destroyed, her economy is torn into shreds. The defence minister is asking for donations to pay the salary of his soldiers. Scarcity of foodgrains has created conditions of famine. If external aid does not reach Afghanistan, then the lives of thirty lakh Afghans would be threatened with starvation. According to a UN report, there are no funds available to defuse millions of landmines in Afghanistan. Even if the requisite funds are made available, it would take more than ten years to defuse these mines. All roads in that country are damaged and most of the bridges are broken. Despite this grave picture of all round destruction, civil war continues to

be waged with all the fury. And look at us. We are bragging of bringing gas via Afghanistan or running trains to Central Asia via Afghanistan. This is all like building castles in the air. One purpose of these braggings could be to divert the attention of simple folks from economic issues like rising prices. This is also a device of not allowing the people to take up core issues".

Some weeks ago, an educated lady was participating in a friendly talk on independent Kashmir. Referring to my articles, she put a question to me, "Do you want that we should forget Kashmir whose songs we have been singing in our childhood? By way of reply I asked her if she meant that in return of the songs she had sung for Kashmir, we should hand over Kashmir to her? She tried to change the wavelength. She said that once she had approached me in connection with her research on Pakistani nationals in Holland. In reply I said that I was not a Pakistani but a Kashmiri. I asked her if she wanted to speak in the context of myself being a Kashmiri, I would have no hesitation to respond. In short all that I brought home to her was that I was proud of being a Kashmiri and I make my identity known to all without any fear and hesitation.

What I mean to say is that this kind of thinking persists in Pakistan that we sang songs for you, hence you shift Kashmir to us or that letter 'K' is to be found in the name of our country and that Quaid-e-Azam had called Kashmir the lifeline of Pakistan, therefore we in Kashmir should accede to Pakistan even if Pakistan is not going to find support on international level for Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. Even if the Pakistani nation is itself destroyed the pro-Pakistani Kashmiris will go on raising the slogan of accession to Pakistan. Evidently this type of thinking will bring the whole subcontinent to the brink of annihilation.

Therefore all the three parties, India, Pakistan and the armed groups in Kashmir shall have to make some introspection. It is of utmost necessity that a common front of all progressive elements, peace-lovers, poor masses, intellectuals, students, sincere politicians of the South Asian region should be formed who would fight against the warmongers and pressurize both India and Pakistan to withdraw their forces from Kashmir. They should be goaded into banishing war from the subcontinent. Indian citizens shall have to make strenuous effort to bring a halt to the violation of human rights in Kashmir and the oppression of the Kashmiris at the hands of the security forces shall have to be resisted. Bunkers made by security forces in the streets and lanes of Kashmir shall have to be removed. If bunkers are not there, armed groups would not attack those sites. All political prisoners shall have to be set free. The

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political process inside Kashmir, too, shall have to be liberated so that the masses get an opportunity of expressing themselves.

The people of Pakistan, too, shall have to stand against religious fanaticism. They must protest against raising of the cries of jihad and against the decision of despatching thirty thousand Afghan mujahideen into Kashmir so that Kashmir issue does not end up in a disastrous war between the two countries.

Solution to Kashmir through division has to be discouraged. Instead an assembly comprising peoples' representatives from all the regions (Jammu, Ladakh, Gilgit, Baltistan, Valley and Azad Kashmir) should be empowered to take a decision about the future of the State. The issue has risen out of the division of the state, and the control by various countries of the parts of its territory. Owing to the existence of regional cultures, religions and local specificities, the entire question has become very complicated. Such complicated questions are not solved through wars and through acts of destruction but through patience and mutual understanding. On both the sides, resistance to the nefarious designs of warmongers and religious fanatics should be launched.

To the armed groups inside Kashmir, my humble submission to them would be to make some patient introspection. They should evaluate and analyse their past struggle. Those leaders who are today talking about civil disobedience, I most help them recollect that way back in 1990, I had advised the activists to launch a civil disobedience movement. The question that will be asked is what did you gain after shedding the blood of thousands of people during these three years?

However, instead of continue killings, kidnapping, and spoiling and arraying against one another, recourse should be taken to launching a peoples' movement and expression of opinion for one's rights. Kashmiris involved in accession movements should wriggle themselves out of these and stop dancing to the tunes of other people. They must think for their own people and for the betterment and in the interests of their own country. By celebrating August 14 under certain impulse of emotion and allowing thirty precious lives to be destroyed may give a momentary emotional satisfaction but this is certainly going to leave behind negative impact on the freedom movement. On international level, this type of event reinforces India's argument that this movement is being carried out at the behest of Pakistan. Have we ever tried to put this simple question to ourselves? Is not celebrating the independence day of others as one's own independence day a kind of mental slavery?

(Amsterdam, August 1992)

Chapter 7

WHY CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND NOT ARMED STRUGGLE IN KASHMIR ?

For last four years, the people in Kashmir are facing bloodshed and destruction. In December 1992, in a barbaric action in Sopor alone, more than hundred innocent persons were done to death. These figures emanated from Indian newspapers. It was also reported that some people were burnt alive by the security forces. Some were butchered inside a passenger bus while it was on the move. The incident was reported by the Jammu - based daily Kashmir Times under the headline 'Murder in Uniform'. The newspaper reported the bus number along with details of this gruesome murder. In the Sopor arson incident more than 500 houses were gutted. Fire extinguishing personnel and medical staff were not allowed to come anywhere close to the site of this incident. Passengers in a private car were also burnt alive.

This naked play of the angel of death has become an everyday affair in Kashmir. Such barbaric scenes were enacted in Khanyar locality in May 1991 and in Chota Bazar on June 11, 1991. The entire market in the town of Handwara was reduced to ashes. According to a reliable source more than one thousand innocent lives have been consumed by the orgy of violence in Kashmir till date. They have embraced martyrdom at the hands of Indian security forces. Many people are untraceable, and still many more have been either killed by the Indian security forces while crossing the border or were buried under snow over the mountains. The pain and agony through which the parents and close relatives of these young people are going can be felt only by those whose skin is deeply grazed by it.

The phenomenon has brought economic destruction to Kashmir. Economic activities like handicraft, carpet weaving, tourism, horticulture etc. which form the backbone of Kashmir's economy, have met with a disaster. Apart from the people belonging to the religious minority of Pandits, more than 400,000 Kashmiri Muslims also have been forced to seek shelter in various parts of India. Kashmir is now in the grip of a scourge of destruction. What is more, even the educational system in Kashmir has crumbled giving rise to apprehensions that our next generation may be totally illiterate. Jammu and Kashmir is the only state in the Indian Union where the rate of literacy had touched 47 per cent.

The most depressing thing in this dark scenario is that no organization, no individual and no group is coming forth with any concrete proposal or plan to put an end to the suffering of the people in Kashmir. Some people are disposed to allude to Afghanistan-like situation while speaking about the struggle in Kashmir. Today Afghanistan is in ruins; organizations fighting 'freedom war' are at war with one another indulging in fratricide. Rockets are rained on Kabul which take a heavy toll of life each day. The people there are seeking shelter in remote places not because of Russian troops but because of inter-group fighting among the mujahideen themselves. In two preceding weeks, the so-called champions of Islam and 'freedom' have murdered more than a thousand persons mostly the poor and the innocent. We pray God Almighty may spare the Kashmiris from Afghanistan type freedom because that type of freedom brings nothing but ruination, devastation besides sharpening the sense of revenge.

The question is: Should all this be allowed to happen just either not to endanger one's life or to escape repudiation which is likely to result from telling the truth? The other alternative would be to invite Kashmiri intellectuals, literati, journalists, teachers, students, true nationalists and the suffering people to re-examine the entire movement, its parameters and its achievements during these four years. We must also compare and contrast losses we have suffered and our enemy has suffered. We should also have a look at the support we have received from our friends. If we are in a better position in political, diplomatic and military terms, and if the cause of national liberation is actually served by our struggle, then we must agree to let the on-going struggle go ahead. But if we find that we are on the side of more losses and that our nation has reached to the brink of precipice, then we should reconsider the entire gamut of our struggle. We shall have to discard our self-aggrandisement and bring about a change in our policy. This means a new path shall have to be found to save ourselves and the entire nation.

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from the great tragedy. This is a tragedy which may as well submerge the entire nation into despondency.

I must say in very soft but clear words that I have made it an article of faith to dedicate my life to the welfare of my compatriots, to respect their sentiments and promote their aspirations. This necessitates looking for and speaking the truth. Of course one always needs courage to speak the truth. At a time when the ISI of Pakistan had projected a particular person as a towering leader for Kashmiris in the context of ongoing struggle, I opposed him on the basis of my strong reasons. Time has proved me true for what I had predicted two years ago.

What are the leaders of today thinking and what is their perception of the situation? First of all let me examine the interview given by Azam Inquilabi to the correspondent of Hindustan Times on February 4, 1993. He said, "In last two years it has gone completely out of control. It has become a story of in-fighting, kidnapping and killing on one hand and of state terrorism on the other. All Indian offices had lost their control on the Valley of Kashmir because of peoples' struggle. State administration is now gradually reasserting. People affiliated to various organizations are being apprehended every day". Some of them are martyred after arrest in the most gruesome manner. Those who are instrumental in their arrest are our own brothers who were formerly called mujahids. Many former militants turned informers after they were arrested. They got their own companions arrested, those with whom they had taken oath to remain faithful to the movement. Previously, common people used to give shelter to these mujahids in their homes with respect and with pleasure. But now they are avoided. Many people have set up gates at the entrance to their localities which are opened and closed by the local residents when they feel necessary to do so. This was because many so-called mujahideen were used to fire at security forces and then hide in densely populated localities. The security personnel would then enter the locality and kill innocent people. Many people and organizations were responsible for kidnapping persons in order to extract money or to cater to some selfish motive. This practice continues even today. The kidnapped are released only when ransom is paid. One can cite many names in this context. I can also give the exact amount of money paid as ransom and the agency that received it. I once met a Kashmiri Muslim who was on kidnap list of the militants. He was paying five thousand rupees per month as ransom. Yet he was kidnapped once and his son twice. Then in a spate of inter-gang rivalry, activists contrived the arrest of members of rival groups.

The *Jang* Karachi carried a news in its issue of February 7, 1993 saying: "The opponents are liquidating one another in order to establish their sway over the respective areas. Thus instead of becoming angels for the people, they have become the enemies of peoples' honour and respect as they are false mujahids." On July 6, 1991, there appeared a statement of Hizbul Mujahideen in *Al Safa* of Srinagar. It said, "Kidnapping of innocent girls has become a routine. A meeting of the superiors of Hizbul Mujahideen of district Srinagar was held under the chairmanship of General Musa. It was said that some persons posing as mujahids are using the name of the organisation and are committing crimes like kidnapping, loot, arson and murder in order to foment public hatred against the movement. Killing of the innocent people and kidnapping of girls has become a routine." It should be remembered that General Musa had a good reputation among his followers. I can give the names with proof of kidnapping of three girls and the organisations involved. But that brings us more shame and disrepute. At best, I can send the proofs to the editors if not to our readers.

Whatever is happening in Kashmir, the full facts do not reach us. If at all some facts are brought to our notice, we sift out the stuff to choose only that which suits us. Moreover, more often than not, we tend to exaggerate the reports of excesses committed by the Indian security forces and bring to light in the Indian press. But when the same sources highlight the atrocities committed by the mujahids, we like to understate it or even black it out completely calling it Indian propaganda. But in this article I have mostly cited from local papers of the Valley because these have been part of the national movement. The daily *Aftab* published a news item under the caption 'Alas! Martyr Noor Muhammad Kenu'. The news ran as this, "From the residents of Zarechpora, Khanabal: On May 25, unbridled gun-wielding youth killed a 22 year youth Noor Muhammad Kenu. He was a thorough gentleman charactered and affable. His brutal killing cast a pal of gloom over the entire locality. Nobody knows why he was gunned down. The leader of a known organisation called Al- Jihad announced in Lal Chowk, Islamabad before a gathering of thousands of people that his murder was unjustified and promised to apprehend the culprits within 24 hours." In another statement, the same organisation said, "Every crime does not deserve death punishment". Condemning such acts, it further said, "The tendency of giving death punishment for every crime is on the increase in Kashmir which is totally un-Islamic act. This is the reason why the roots of freedom struggle are becoming hollow."

The highly negative and damaging aspect for the freedom movement is the rising tendency of mutual killing meaning killing the

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opponents. According to an estimate till date more than 500 persons have been killed in inter-group rivalry in the valley. In an incident, a particular organisation kidnapped an area commander of the Liberation Front. When he was shot at, he asked for water. His assailant brought him some dirty water from a dirty drain in the hollow of a shoe and poured a few drops in his mouth. I knew that youthful victim very well. Such deeds are done by those in the name of freedom of Kashmir for whom Kashmiris put at stake their lives, property and their sons and daughters. How sad that this great movement, and the sacrifices of our martyrs have been wrecked and spilt by some self-seeking and baneful elements. It is unfortunate that various organisations seized by group interests do not call to book these malevolent elements. We the Muslims are prone to adopt ostrich-like behaviour. Let me remind my readers that in 1971 Indo-Pak war, Azad Kashmir Radio and PTV as well as newspapers continued to reported till December 15, 1971 tantalising news of Pakistani troops victoriously overpowering Mukti Bahini and Indian army contingents thus keeping their nation fed with false expectations. When on December 16, the Pakistani army suddenly surrendered before Indian troops, this was almost life-snatching news for them. Many people, were shocked to death. If one rummages into the newspapers of those days, one finds that up to December 15, General Yahya Khan was a hero and 'the protector of the nation'. But a day later on December 16, he became a traitor to the nation and the country. The newspapers published his pictures in a mood of drinking and dancing.

Likewise, the print media in Kashmir (meaning Kashmir outside the valley because the journalists within the Valley are caught between the devil and the deep sea) and Pakistanis are putting under cover the negative and disastrous aspects of the on-going struggle in Kashmir. This is tantamount to enmity against the movement and genuine mujahideen. The entire movement is put on a track of total disaster bringing dejection and despondency to the masses of people. Without proper accountability a movement slips out of control notwithstanding how much sanctimonious it may be. The worst thing is that when somebody with a penetrating eye is able to lay his finger on the malaise that has crept into the movement, and offers the suggestion of taking timely action to eradicate it, then he is branded by self-serving people and those on the pay roll of agencies and bidders on dead bodies of the Kashmiri youth as 'Indian agents'. But can facts be changed just by levelling accusations without checking where the truth lies? When the critics in Pakistan expressed objections to Mrs. Benazir Bhutto — the former Prime Minister and now leader of opposition becoming chairperson of Foreign Affairs Committee, she said that she had accepted the office because until the other day, these very people used to call her an Indian agent. Intelligence agency

RAW. In present - day Pakistani politics it is common place to stick the label of 'traitor' and 'enemy agent' to one who speaks the truth.

But we shall, in no circumstances, hesitate to tell the truth. I must say that the ; prospect of gun going out of control in Kashmir, international situation and the events of politicking on the dead bodies of Kashmiris, all have aroused my deep sentiments and forced me to express myself. It has re-confirmed my belief that if Kashmiris are to obtain freedom at all, it can be got only through non-violence and civil movement. Whatever analysis I have been making about this movement for the last three years, has been proved correct by history. Every one in the Valley is going through the conditions I had predicted. However, the nationalists in Azad Kashmir, intellectuals and far-sighted people in Pakistan should know the conditions so that keeping our weaknesses in mind, we draw plans for our success. In this connection, I would like to refer to the open letter of Jamaat-e-Islami leader, Ali Shah Geelani to the militant organisations published in the daily *Aftab* of November 24, 1992. The text of this letter was also published in the weekly *Insaf* of Rawalpindi. Geelani wrote: " We need the mujahids who speak the word of truth, who are pure and selfless and whom no enticement can induce into betrayal with the movement. We need such soldiers with fortitude who can fight on empty stomachs. We regret to say that instead of unity, cooperation and organisational cohesiveness so necessary and unavoidable for this vanguard group, it is divided into various groups. This groupism has adversely affected the heroic struggle on the one hand and on the other hand the hopes and aspirations of the oppressed and helpless masses have been bruised and mauled. We tried again and again for unity and cooperation but contrarily the heroic struggle has, sometimes, deviated from its targets assuming the shape of mutual clash and strife thus bringing discredit to the immensely valuable sacrifices made by the community." Geelani continues, " Emergence of various groups adhering to the objectives of accession to Pakistan and establishment of Nizam-e-Mustafa (meaning Islamic theocratic system) and their inter-group strife is extremely painful and regrettable putting to doubt their sincerity and struggle. "[He continues, " Militant groups should observe the code of non-interference in personal and group vendettas because such involvement would result in losing the sight of the targets. Militant organisations should refrain from interfering in government offices and from seeking official favours. It is so because the entire community is demonstrating its preparedness to make sacrifices alongside the heroic youth in order to uproot the oppressive system and liquidate its illegal existence and bring the people their fundamental right to self-determination. By interfering with government offices and by demanding official favours, an impression is created that the existing

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system is lasting one and a struggle against it is neither serious nor result-oriented," he added. "Unintentionally the people would become disinterested in this entire struggle. They begin to seek assistance from militant organisations in order to surpass others in garnering for themselves benefits from the system. Geelani continues," Looting the banks, accepting bribes and taking part in frauds is to put the whole effort of self-determination into doubt and subject it to abuse. The militant organisations shall have to think seriously over giving calls for strikes which instead of damaging the enemy, would exacerbate the difficulties and problems of the oppressed community. If we are to depend on strikes, then poverty stricken people will be forced to beg for a loaf. All this will have adverse cumulative effect on the entire struggle," he observed.

In this letter Geelani Sahib has confirmed the mutual strife among militant organisations, acts of loot, arson and vandalism, interference in personal affairs and vendettas. As such people in England or at other places, who are used to politicking on the dead bodies of Kashmiris without understanding or knowing the ground realities, should acquaint themselves with the hard facts of the on-going situation failing which we may have to face another East Pakistan like tragedy. Would now venture to present excerpts from an interview with Mr. Shabbir Shah, the Chief of Peoples League. It must be remembered that Amnesty International has called him "the prisoner of conscience." The interview was given by him to the Tribune News Service on November 3, 1992 from a nursing home. This was published by The Tribune of Chandigarh (India) in its issue of November 4, 1992. He said, "Kalashnikov was a part of the struggle. In reality political struggle is needed which will force India to come to the negotiating table because Kalashnikov is not the solution of the problem. If the militants think that they will throw out India through force of arms, they are mistaken because India's military might cannot be overlooked. There is no solution to the problem except a tripartite dialogue."

While raising his voice against the oppression and tyranny of Indian security forces, Shabbir Shah has also protested against the excesses of the so-called mujahideen on the public. He has appealed to them to make proper use of the gun giving an opportunity to political leaders like Abdul Ghani Lone, Sayyid Ali Shah Geelani, Maulana Abbas Ansari and Abdul Ghani Butt to give the movement its real political colour and content. He said, "It is our misfortune that the movement has been hijacked by contractors, businessmen and bureaucrats who are making fortunes by exploiting Kashmiri youth." Shabbir Shah also pleaded for giving representation to Ladakh and Jammu regions and

Kashmiri Pandits. He conceded that in Kashmir, there were people representing anti-Pakistan views which, however, did not mean that people had turned pro-Indian. A majority of people voted for independence in Kashmir. He said, "Kashmiris were being used as guinea-pig in the war of wits between Islamabad and New Delhi." Giving the example of Palestinians and Israelis, he said that if they could talk, why not India, Pakistan and Kashmiris? Shabbir Shah has endorsed my stand that we can reach our goal only through political struggle. He has endorsed my view that Kashmiri Pandits should repose trust in us and return to Kashmir.

Disillusioned

Let us now examine what the political leadership on the other side of the line of actual control meaning Pakistan Occupied Kashmir say. In this context, I would like to reproduce for our readers parts of the letter written by the Chairman of Tehreek-e-Hurriyat (Freedom Movement) Janab Farooq Rahmani in the monthly *Gash* appearing from London and Rawalpindi. The letter appeared in the issue No.11 of September 15 — October 15, 1992 under the caption "Kashmir and Bosnia - a test for the Islamic World". He wrote as follows:

"India has already been backtracking on her commitments on Kashmir. But now Pakistan, too, is not fulfilling her promises which she had made to us in 1988. Not only that, we are not told to stop this jihad because Pakistan apprehends a threat to its solidarity It is surprising that on the one hand Pakistani rulers, politicians, and religious leaders claim that Pakistan is the protector of Muslims all over the world, and on the other hand they see their daughters and sisters fallen in the clutches of cruel and uncouth Hindu soldiers and yet their sense of manliness is not touched. During last couple of months there has been a spurt in acts of molestation of Muslim women and massacre of Muslim children in Kashmir at the hands of the Indian troops. If despite receiving news of these atrocities Pakistani rulers sit together with their Indian counterparts in Delhi or Islamabad over lunch and dinners, and various cultural delegations continue their exchange visits to two countries, or invite the enemies of Kashmir and Pakistan to their country, and what inference should we draw from it? Does it not mean that those who are to die let them die, those who are to be vandalised let them be vandalised but we continue our business. It is interesting to note that the people of Kashmir and their children are not allowing the Indians to build the Wular Barrage in the name of navigation as that would choke

Pakistan's water resource. But the Pakistanis themselves are negotiating with India the construction of Wular Barrage thereby endorsing India's occupation of Kashmir."

Let it be reminded that accession to Pakistan has been an article of faith with Farooq Rahmani. The group of Sardar Qayyum Khan never considered accession to Pakistan an article of faith because they carry the condition of sovereignty and power with their ideology. It is Rahmani who made great sacrifices for his political ideology in Kashmir valley.

Another stalwart of Plebiscite Front in the valley namely Azam Inquilabi gave an interview to India Abroad and said, "In the beginning, people supported the gun but now they want a political solution..... We are aggrieved by what the security forces are doing, but we are equally aggrieved by what our brethren are doing." He has thrown full light on the murder of Maqbool Malik by the Hizbu'l-Mujahideen activists. Speaking about the international support (to Kashmir movement), he says, "We have been left to our fate by the rest of the globe including the Islamic world."

Lessons we learn

It was in the light of these events that Azam Inquilabi floated new organisation namely Kashmir Bachao Tehreek (Save Kashmir Movement). He argues, "Since people of Jammu, Ladakh, Azad Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan are not practically participants in the freedom struggle of the people of Kashmir, and perhaps they are satisfied with the present system (Jammu and Ladakh with India and Azad Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan with Pakistan), therefore, the valley of Kashmir may be made free for the present." In this connection, he gave an interview to the Saudi Gazette also. Taking ground realities into consideration, there is sense in what Azam Inquilabi says. There has neither been an uprising against Pakistan in Azad Kashmir nor have the people in Jammu and Ladakh responded to the call from the Valley. Strange to say that one self-styled leader who calls himself the Hochi Minh of Kashmir has no following even in his own village. He has styled himself as a leader not on any public following but on the supreme sacrifices made by the people of the Valley.

I may remind my readers that the proposition of Azam Inquilabi with regard to realities on the ground, meaning the political movement and political platform, are precisely the one I had put forth in 1990. Those who have made politics their pastime at the cost of the precious lives of our youth in Kashmir, and make it a source of sustenance as well, have

started a campaign against Azam Inquilabi and say that it is Indian idea. In other words they want to convey that Save Kashmir Movement is India's brainchild. Obviously they want that "Destroy Kashmir Movement" should be floated just as they continue with ' Destroy Afghanistan Movement '.

The matter of fact is that a few paid agents, self -seekers and beneficiaries of Kashmir Affair Ministry in Islamabad have started a vilification campaign against those who as nationalists want to save Kashmir from destruction and devastation. When drawn into a logical debate based on harsh realities, they find they are only incoherent and speak only in terms of destruction and decimation of generations. The point to note is that the offspring of such critics and detractors live in luxury and comfort outside Kashmir, receiving education and training in excellent institutions. It is argued that India is spending a thousand million rupees per month on Kashmir. How long will India bear this heavy cost, they ask. But they forget that the rulers on the subcontinent do not hesitate to starve their paupered people in order to maintain their false prestige. In the clash of egos, they are prepared to drag the subcontinent to the brink of disaster. A thousand million rupees a month makes one rupee per head per month in India. In comparison to this, we have wrought immense destruction to ourselves. We have destroyed our economy, our art treasures and our educational system. Has anybody cared to keep an account of this massive self inflicted destruction? Bidding farewell to accepted ethics of war strategy,

Kashmiri mujahideen have destroyed a large number of big and small bridges in the Valley thereby inflicting inconvenience to common man. This they did with the intention of arresting the mobility of Indian army. We all know that mobility is no problem for any army in modern times.

And then came the turn of school and college buildings in the Valley. Even the local newspapers issued appeals against burning these institutions. In these appeals it was said that bridges, colleges and schools are built with the sweat and blood of the nation. A mujahid, Jamshed Khan by name, burnt Islamic College. As the building was burning, crowds of people who had gathered on the spot, instead of trying to extinguish the fire and save the building, looted the library and the laboratory.

Let anybody contradict me. Those who think of proving me false, I can lead them to the houses where the stolen books and apparatus are

dumped. When this Jamshed Khan was arrested, he turned to be the most prized informer of the security forces.

The attitude of the so-called mujahideen with the pressmen in the Valley is best explained by the victims themselves despite the facta that press in the Valley remained biased towards the freedom movement from the very beginning. Not prepared to oblige the wishes and desires of certain groups, the vehicle of the owner of *Srinagar Times* was blasted by planting a bomb in it. The owner of *Al Safa*, Muhammad Sha'ban Vakil was shot dead for writing the truth. (I may mention here that a paid agent once warned me while speaking in the context of Muhammad Sha'ban Vakil. He said. "Sha'ban Vakil was shot dead because he wrote the truth which did us harm. You are writing the truth but you should take care that this truth does not do us harm.)"

The daily *Al Safa* was forbidden by the militants to publish the paper; the building of weekly *Chattan* was damaged, other papers were regularly intimidated; twice bombs were hurled in the house of Yusuf Jameel (the correspondent of BBC). This is the treatment meted out to the press by the militant organisations. If a newspaper reported kidnapping and subsequent killing of a person, the perpetrators of the crime became its enemy forcing the proprietor to suspend its publication for a long time. In its issue of October 19, 1992, the weekly *Chattan* of Srinagar wrote editorial under the caption '*Chiragh-e-tur jalao bahut andhera hai*' It said,

" One of the main reasons of dejection for Kashmiris is that the honourable militants have divided the common national movement into different compartments and thus brought about its dispersal. They could not stop the gun getting out of control. The sanctity which the mujahid had won for himself in the eyes of common man, could not be preserved and perpetuated by him. The dream of a colourful spring of hope and expectation which they had been dreaming during the initial days of the movement, soon turned into dull autumn of despair and dejection. Political leadership remained interned during the same period. It was evident from the very beginning that they could play any effective role only with the support of the militants. But it is a harsh reality that except for lip service they did not get any substantial support worth the name from the militants. Some militants perhaps only unconsciously got bogged down by the apprehension that political leadership could become a source of threat to the gun. As such they adopted an attitude in which political leadership was ignored. For example, when the political leadership opposed the tactics of forcing strikes, the militants sponsored a prolonged phenomenon of strikes. Obviously they wanted to convey a message to the

political leadership that only their (militants') writ could run. They brought in the example of the neighbouring State of Punjab where during its heyday, Sikh militants humiliated the Akali leadership now and then. Recently two Sikh extremists, Jinda and Sukha were hanged for killing the former Indian Army Chief, General Vaidya. Punjab Akali leaders gave a call for a strike in protest but nobody listened to them. What is more, even the Sikh majority paid no attention to the call."

Two years after this editorial had been written, I said "In Kashmir political platform and political movement would by itself guarantee the security of the mujahids because unless common man participates through political platform and political movement, the mujahids cannot remain secure. They are weak vis-a-vis Indian security forces. Their strength lies in their sincerity to their stand and the masses of the people."

Let anybody judge, if I was not right in what I had said. The security forces are liquidating the mujahids one by one. This is the situation on the ground.

Pak politicians speak

Having said that, let us now cite a few statements of some Pakistani politicians in the context of international situation and Kashmir issue. On the eve of her departure to London, the former Pakistani Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto said at Karachi airport on 30 December 1992, "In regard to Kashmir issue, the government's policy has failed; on international level, it stands isolated. The government is thinking of sealing the Kashmir border which would be dangerous for Kashmiris." Maulana Noorani, too, has called Pakistan's Kashmir policy a failure. Pakistani politicians, intellectuals, mediperson and progressive writers have been writing about Kashmir in detail laying emphasis on political struggle and political solution.

Adventure - loving people should understand that if at all India decides to leave Kashmir peacefully and without international pressure she will do so only after a war with Pakistan. This will be an atomic war resulting in colossal destruction on both sides. Therefore the question of Pakistan's own integrity and solidarity cannot be overlooked. A Pakistani patriot said, "If in the course of asking annexation of Kashmir, Pakistan itself gets dismembered, what will happen to us? If Pakistan is declared a terrorist state, then India will be facilitated in launching an attack on her because as a declared terrorist state, Pakistan will get isolated in the international community."

Freedom movement or terrorism

If Kashmiri politicians have been the cause of failure of the movement, Pakistani bureaucracy is no less responsible because it failed to comprehend the import of the movement. It discouraged formation of a political platform. It destroyed all those political platforms and parties which refused to be subservient to it. For example, in order to fragment Liberation Front, Pakistani bureaucracy and intelligence encouraged Amanullah Khan because this organisation could guarantee freedom and self-determination to Kashmiris. We wish that political struggle in Kashmir had been encouraged so that this organisation would not have been labelled as a movement incited by Pakistan. It would have been known widely as the movement of Kashmiris in real sense of the term. Even Sardar Qayyum Khan said, "Pakistan had not succeeded in mobilising international opinion on Kashmir in its favour " (*Jang* London, February 19, 19193)

Evidently, as a result, on international level, Indian ruling circles have been projecting the peoples' movement in Kashmir as Pakistan's interference and her abetment of an armed uprising. They argue that till 1988, Kashmiris used to take part in elections. Even Jamaat-e-Islami also took part in the elections of 1988. With the end of cold war, Pakistan is no more vital for the promotion of the interests of the US and the West. As such, for them she does not enjoy the same importance as in earlier days. Pakistan's atomic programme is another reason for incurring West's displeasure. Pakistan has not been able to control the drug mafia since heroin continues to be smuggled into the Arabian and the western countries from Pakistan. It has also become an irritant in the relations between the USA and Pakistan (so far 40 Pakistanis have been beheaded in Saudi Arabia on charges of drug trafficking: December 1992 to February 1992)

Alongside these reasons, India raked the issue of Punjab and Kashmir. The United States made much noise about Pakistan being declared a terrorist state. This is the reason why I repeatedly wrote that a civil disobedience movement in Kashmir should be in the hands of local leadership. In that case no blame would come to the doorsteps of Pakistan. The four-year armed struggle as part of disorganised movement, has, of course yielded one good or bad result on international platform. We the Kashmiris have succeeded in distorting the respectable and dignified international image of India, the country that followed the non-violence ideology of Mahatma Gandhi (I may mention that in a big park in Amsterdam in Holland, and also at a main square in New York, the statues of Mahatma Gandhi have been installed).

International opinion

But unfortunately, international politics and our own actions, i.e. making the gun our guide in the Valley, only protected India's position on international level. Powerful nations argue that since India is faced with externally launched terrorism, therefore, human rights violations will occur in the course of cross-firing. Also at some places, in individual cases, the security forces may be carried away by acute sense of retaliation resulting in some excesses but proper action against them is taken. If not the human rights organisations, but most of the western governments accept this line of argument from Indian side. As far as the human rights organisations are concerned, these consider the excesses of the militant organisations or their punishment of the people for being alleged informers, also as human rights violations. Owing to these conditions, the Labour Party in UK publicly announced its Kashmir policy in December 1992 as, "Kashmir is a part of India and we condemn external support to the terrorists inside Kashmir." (Jang, London December 2, 1992) Again the British Prime Minister, John Major said on India's Republic day at New Delhi that political process should be initiated in Jammu and Kashmir. He demanded that external support to the separatists in Kashmir should be stopped and India and Pakistan should resolve Kashmir issue in accordance with the Simla Agreement. He also demanded that human rights violations should be stopped. A few days earlier, Prime Minister John Major, while replying to a letter from a British MP, said, "the real issue in Kashmir is that of interference by Pakistan. India wants to hold elections there and initiate a political process." Boris Yeltsin, the Russian President reiterated his country's known stand, viz "Kashmir is a part of India and we will support India in the matter of her territorial integrity." The German Chancellor visited India. He declined to accept the Kashmir question as a question of freedom and self-determination stressing that India and Pakistan should resolve the dispute according to the spirit of Simla Agreement.

It will be noted that till date Pakistan has been projecting Kashmir as a border dispute between the two countries. For example we find that Nawaz Sharif refused the third option. Benazir Bhutto, in a lengthy interview with Saudi Gazette declared that the solution of Kashmir problem was Kashmir's accession to Pakistan.

Even the US, the only super power presently has not adopted a clear cut policy on Kashmir. She wants to put Pakistan on the list of terrorist states just because of Pakistan's role in Kashmir. International media is silent on the festering sore of Kashmir because of events like the

loot and arson, and forcible occupation of Pandit houses and properties after their exodus from Kashmir, murder of Vice Chancellor Mushirul Huqq and kidnapping and subsequent murder of innocent civilians by the militant organisations. A few days ago, Raja Munish Khan, a supporter of Sardar Qayyum Khan (who is a candidate for overseas Kashmiri Assembly seat) called a conference of Kashmiris in Nottingham. A few British MPs participated in it. The news was given wide coverage in Urdu newspapers. However, the British media did not publish a word about this conference nor about the visit of Sardar Qayyum Khan. Srinagar-based BBC correspondent, Yusuf Jameel said, "Those who feel happy that a particular news has been given by the Urdu service of BBC, I must tell them that the news is what we have sent and they broadcast it so that we may hear what we have told them."

Why not react?

This copious analysis has been made with the purpose that the sympathisers of Kashmiris, so-called deliverers of Kashmiris from their agony and suffering should reconsider the on-going struggle in Kashmir. The gun has become uncontrolled, bringing in trail acts of kidnapping, murder, loot and arson (Azam Inquilabi's words). Both genuine and spurious mujahideen are facing with notoriety. Should we not react to this situation by initiating a peoples' movement of the type we found in connection with the theft of the holy relic? If various organisations in Kashmir fail to converge on this point, then that would only spell more disaster for Kashmiris which has already reached its limits. At the same time, I would also like to invite the attention of the intellectuals, politicians, secular section of people, lawyers, justice loving people and followers of Gandhiji's teachings towards the naked oppression and tyranny let loose by the security forces. They mercilessly fired at unarmed and peaceful demonstrators in Khanyar, Chota Bazar, Hawal etc. They dragged out innocent people from their homes and shot them dead on streets. Will not this blood of innocent people weigh heavily on the conscience of India?

Is it not negation of the ethical principles of Gandhi Ji and Nehru Ji? In December 1992, Indian security forces burnt innocent people alive in Sopor and the town amounting to three thousand million rupees. It took a toll of more than a hundred precious lives. An Indian newspaper published out an editorial under the caption 'Murder in uniform'. Which picture of India's secularism and democracy is presented by these acts? Today the soul of Gandhiji, Subhash Chander Bose and Bhagat Singh will be shuddering at the oppression let loose on Kashmiris. We ask the Indian leadership whether actions like these are the pillars of her

democratic, secular and non-aligned principles? If the upholders of secular and humanistic principles in India expect Kashmiris to be faithful to India in the face of these oppressions and tyrannies, these killings and this destruction, as we find in the case of Sopor, the proposition sounds difficult. Pronouncements of the official circles before the human rights organisations that security forces will be punished for excesses if any carry no weight. If justice is not done in open, if the oppressed are not shown the true face of justice, meaning without convincing the oppressed then it is no justice but merely an eye wash. Indian authorities would better follow the example of the incident of Tando Bhawal in Sindh Pakistan where Pakistani army officers were court martialled for killing innocent persons, and given punishment. We shall appeal to the Indian masses to raise their voice against oppression in Kashmir. Indian authorities should demonstrate courage and find a solution to Kashmir problem through a tripartite dialogue. Liberal and secular elements in Kashmir are prepared to cooperate with democratic sections in India and Pakistan in finding a solution to Kashmir problem in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir.

In conclusion, I would also like to appeal to the Kashmiri people that we should not sacrifice entire Kashmiri nation for the two countries. We should keep international situation in sight and forge a political platform and organisation in Kashmir. Those who have been forced to leave Kashmir should be invited to return without any preconditions. Kidnapping and killing of innocent people should be stopped so that we demonstrate our sense of responsibility of building our future generations.

February 26, 1993

Chapter 8

AFGHAN JEHAD A MOMENT OF INTROSPECTION FOR KASHMIRIS

The story of misfortune of Afghanistan began in 1979 when Babrak Karmal, under an agreement with the leadership of Soviet Union, called the Russian troops into Afghanistan. Following this, the independence - loving people of Afghanistan revolted against the incursionists and the ruler who had come to power through a coup. The Afghans took up arms to defend their national freedom. Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic country and these nationalities rose against Russian military presence in their land. However, Khalq and Parcham parties calling the revolt against President Daud Khan as a revolution, supported the Russian troops in Afghanistan. In this way, the matters headed towards a fratricidal war in which Afghans shed the blood of Afghans. The war continued and the US, its allies and other Muslim countries started taking interest in what was brewing in Afghanistan. The motivating factor for these countries was taking the revenge of Vietnam debacle and thus CIA installed a strong network in collaboration with ISI. Aid worth billions of dollars in the shape of arms and ammunition was given to Afghan mujahideen through ISI to resist the Soviet forces. The US described this resistance as jihad saying that it was a war between the Muslims and the *Kafirs* or infidels.

Muslims were utilised against the Russians through crude interference, differences between Russia and China were also exploited to the detriment of Russia. Arms and ammunition from China flowed to the Afghan mujahideen through Pakistan. The internal story of jihad in Afghanistan has been recorded in detail by the ISI chief of Afghan Cell, Brig. Muhammad Yusuf in his book entitled *The Bear trap*. Writing under the title 'Role of CIA', he said, "Upto 1984, 90 per cent arms were

purchased from China and in 1985 from Egypt. Thereafter, consignments of arms and ammunition were purchased from Israel but this was kept a secret by the US." Brig. Muhammad Yusuf wrote that keeping the matter of purchase of ammunition from Israel a secret was only to ensure that the feelings of the Muslims were not hurt otherwise for ammunition experts it should not be difficult to identify the manufacturer. *The Bear trap* was jointly written by Brig. Yusuf and Major Marc Edcan and was translated by *Jang* publishers into Urdu under the title *Shikast-e-Roos*. It provides valuable information on what happened in Afghanistan.

During the Afghan war, hundreds of thousands of Afghans became refugees and thousands of them were working in Russia. This war was given the name of Jihad by the leaders and warlords who were killing Muslims, civilians, soldiers and commanders in the name of Islam. In the chapter under the title 'Mutual civil war', Brig. Yusuf writes, "in 1989, Islamic court of Jamaat-e-Islami (Rabbani) hanged mujahideen of Hikmatyar's Hizb-e-Islami activists in public. These hangings were the result of a civil war among Afghan commanders. In 1989, thirty-six men, including seven prominent commanders of Ahmad Shah Masood were killed by Hizb-e-Islami (Hikmatyar). The religious leaders patched up their differences and took an oath upon the holy Qur'an. But this agreement did not last long." A hind sight of Afghan happenings shows that the people involved in jihad were actually killing one another. In 1987, Hekmatyar's armed bands amputated the hands and feet of Ahmad Shah Masood's men and then slaughtered them in cold blood.

In 1989, the mujahideen attacked Jalalabad where nearly 15,000 persons were killed. According to a conservative estimate nearly a million people were killed during the jihad. Add to it the vast destruction of Afghan cities and towns and her infrastructure. It is incalculable. To state that the Russians were defeated and that they suffered a heavy loss in Afghanistan, is far from being the truth. The Russian commanders were highly professional and they withdrew from Afghanistan in a planned manner in which they suffered the minimum loss. To think that the Russians left Afghanistan because of mujahideen, is not the truth. After the exit of the Russians, the mujahideen could not dislodge Najibullah regime for two and a half year. Russians decided to leave Afghanistan because they found that a civil war, a fratricidal war was developing in that country. Various organisations were at logger heads. These organisations and groups had come into existence when General Dostum, a commander under Dr. Najibullah decided to rise in revolt against the President. In collaboration with General Ahmad Shah Masood, he removed Dr. Najibullah from the seat of power and forced him to seek shelter in the headquarters of the United Nations in Kabul.

The exiled government comprising seven factions captured power and Gen. Dostum was instrumental in that. Ahmad Shah Masood became the Defence Minister while Prof. Burhanud - Din Rabbani was declared the new President. Hekmatyar was appointed as Prime Minister. This was the new arrangement but Hekmatyar, the Prime Minister, could not enter Kabul because of renewed fighting among the soldiers of the three commanders. Hekmatyar's condition was that he would accept the cease-fire only when General Dostum's forces had withdrawn from Kabul because he (Dostum) had fought against the mujahideen and supported the Russians, But then in December 1995, Hekmatyar aligned with the same Dostum and fought against Rabbani and Ahmad Shah Masood. Is this Islam and should this be called *jihad* where commanders take an oath upon the holy book and then break it in order to carry out their selfish agenda?

Dostum was absolved of his supporting the Soviets and fighting against the mujahideen. It is because of so-called champions of Islam like him and others who have turned Afghanistan into ruins. What is happening in Kabul and in Afghanistan today is well known to every body except my compatriots in Kashmir. There are a few emotional persons in Kashmir who are lionising the Afghans for having thrown out the Soviets. They are dreaming that like these mujahideen they will also hoist the flag of victory in Kashmir. Before I proceed to recount what the International League for Human Rights has said on the bloodshed in Afghanistan after the removal of Dr. Najibullah, let me remind my readers that in April 1993, Nawaz Sharif government and the Saudi Prince had got an agreement signed by the leaders of all parties of Afghanistan. It stipulated a ceasefire, unity and reconciliation. The agreement was signed immediately after these leaders had performed '*umrah*' in the Mecca. Hardly had the ink dried on the agreement sheet when the 'Islamic leaders' of Afghanistan returned to war path. They forgot *umrah* as they had forgotten taking oath upon the Holy book earlier. Yet we call their action a *jihad*, *Jihad* against whom? A Muslim fighting a Muslim and a Muslim killing a Muslim. Afghanistan has turned into an Islamic country where the President, the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister are bombing their own cities and towns, killing their own people, destroying their own property and all this in the name of Islam. The world media is highlighting these activities day in and day out.

According to the reports of International Relief Workers and journalists, "during the first eight months, after the ouster of Najibullah Khan, 75,000 civilians were wounded while 12,000 were killed because of infighting among mujahideen. Southern and South-Western parts of

Kabul were badly affected. Residential areas were targeted and hospitals, schools, public places, bazars and mosques were also destroyed. International League for Human Rights in its report of March 1994 said, "throughout much of the 1979 - 89, Red Army occupation, Kabul was spared the wrath and devastation of war. But since the arrival of the mujahideen, however, Kabul has suffered far more damage and casualties than during the entire Soviet - Afghan war. By mid summer 1993, entire street sections had been completely destroyed and once boisterous residential areas turned into shattered and looted ghost towns." This report further states that since 1994, Kabul has once again taken the full brunt of war Afghan political groups change their loyalties and alliances time and again. One day they are involved in fighting and on the next day they make alliances with their enemy and then fight with their ally of yesterday. When renewed fighting sparked off in Kabul on January 1, 1994, new alliances emerged. Hekmatyar made alliance with the Uzbek militia chief Gen. Rashid Dostum and is fighting against President Burhanud - Din Rabbani and Ahmad Shah Masood while in the past Gen Dostum was the strongest supporter of the government of Rabbani. Dostum is not only unpopular but his forces are responsible for the most of the bloodshed, kidnapping and molestation. Hekmatyar had differences with President Rabbani because of Gen. Dostum's past history. How come that there was now reversal of everything?

According to the report of the International Red Cross, in the first six weeks of 1994, over 900 people were killed while 10,500 were wounded. This number can be higher and the people only allege that all fighting commanders (*jangi sardars*) are fighting for power and material gains at the cost of the life and proper of their own people. The report quotes Ahmad Shah Masood saying, "It is impossible for the government to control the armed gangs. These people are responsible for thefts, burglaries and molestation. And in my opinion, Soviet Union had quit Afghanistan two years earlier when mujahideen were incapable of discharging the responsibilities of governance. International Red Cross and also the people of Afghanistan are of the opinion that restoration of peace in Kabul and other parts of Afghanistan is impossible until total destruction of any one of the main groups or complete and total exhaustion of stockpiles of arms and ammunition. The report blames Pakistan, Iran and Saudi Arabia for escalation of war by encouraging commanders of their respective choice. The report quotes a common man and a common woman in Kabul saying respectively,

"We fought the war for freedom from the Russians but our so-called leaders are fighting for power and material gains. I was injured only because I was asked to assist the murderers who

were killing our own people on roads, and I do not want to live in Kabul where beasts have become the kings."

According to International Red Cross, the number of refugees from the war-torn areas during the on-going civil war has reached 1.5 million. In February 1994, these fighting commanders did not shown any respect to the requests of the International Red Cross and the UN to bring food supplies to the starving 50,000 people of the town and the refugees who were fleeing for safety. These fugitives were stopped in the way, looted of their money and their women molested. In 1993, a container filled with dead bodies of women was found in the Pushtoon area of Kabul. These women were first raped and then brutally murdered. Prof. Felix of the UN writes in his report" that in Afghanistan, men have automatic rifles and the children have rocket launchers. But the women have not been provided with arms and only the men are fighting for power while the women are struggling for living their normal life". Referring to a *fetwa* (religious decree) issued jointly by the *ulema*, the report says

"that girls cannot go to school because they will misuse the education received in there. If the girls know reading and writing, they will write letters to those people with whom they want to make friendship."

It should not be difficult to understand that the US used Afghans against Russia and in the process Afghanistan came to its ruination. When the Soviets left Afghanistan, the US also turned its head away from Afghanistan. According to one Afghan the Americans first destroyed Afghanistan by excessive aid and now by stopping all aid. Today in Afghanistan houses, streets, gardens, schools, hospitals, mosques, museums and everything have met with destruction; this being far greater than what was suffered during the war with the Soviets. And all this destruction is being done in the name of Islam. Where does Islam permit to take up arms against aged men, women, children or wounded persons?

The so-called Islamic war fought in Afghanistan is now being thrust upon Kashmir by the religious extremists on the same pattern as in Afghanistan. After razing Afghanistan to the ground, the Afghan, Sudanese and other 'mujahids' are now despatched to Kashmir where the situation is heading towards a civil war. Hizbul Mujahideen and Jamaat-e-Islami are leading this civil war because they fight against Al - Burq, Al - Jihad and Al - Mujahid despite the fact that the ideology of all these groups is the same and that is accession to Pakistan or Islamic system. Hizbul Mujahideen brutally killed the youth who subscribed to the

organizations with the ideology of independent Kashmir. Malik Maqbool was kidnapped and tortured for five days. His eyes were gouged out, his beard burnt and his dead body was thrown on the roadside. In the same way, Mr. Idres was also killed. Generally Kashmiris are of the opinion that Dr. Guru, Maulana Masu'di and Maulavi Farooq were also martyred by the fundamentalists. It is a different matter that the people have maintained fearing the gun. But despite that, local newspapers in Kashmir receive innumerable appeals and letters day in day out addressed to the heads of militant groups saying that near and dear ones have been kidnapped by their activists. Even the instances of rape of kidnapped women are also brought to the notice of the press. A militant named Jamshid set ablaze an educational institution namely Islamia College and some smaller bridges over the river or the nullahs across the Valley have been destroyed.

Apart from this, the war of so-called Islamic system launched by the militant groups in the name of national freedom has deprived Kashmiri people of international support to their cause. It will be reminded that during the Afghan war, the ISI created Afghan press agency propagated of killings one hundred Russians against one Afghan in the course of the war. In the same manner propaganda is made that 30 Indian soldiers are being killed against one Kashmiri though the truth is that 20 to 30 Kashmiris are being killed against one Indian soldier. If this rate of killing continues, Kashmir will be depleted of its youth population in next five years. Those who describe the war of independence of Kashmir as an Islamic war like the Afghan war, forget that the war in Afghanistan was fought by the USA, western countries, France, Germany, UK and the Muslim countries against Russia. All kinds of arms, ammunition and other material aid was provided to Afghans. In addition, the western media lent tremendous moral support to the mujahideen in order to demoralise the Soviet forces in Afghanistan. Apart from the actual battlefield, the war was fought at all international fora including the UN. The requirements of 40 lakh Afghan refugees were met by the western powers and their Asian allies. But notwithstanding all this material, moral and logistic support, the outcome of Afghan war was nothing but destruction of that country at the hands of its own people. Should the Afghan war be anything for Kashmiris to emulate?

The militant organisations in Kashmir call their struggle a religious war whereas it should have been a national freedom movement of the five units of original J&K State. They want to bring destruction in the subcontinent for which no country in the world is willing to lend them its support. Even the Muslim countries do not consider it a war between Islam and *kufr* (infidelity). Neither the UN nor any other international

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body is involved in this issue. Despite massive human rights violations by the Indian security forces, the resolution tabled by Pakistan against India at the Human Rights Commission in Geneva could not get more than three votes with the result that Pakistan had to eat the humble pie. Religious groups and the militant leadership in Kashmir thought that the Kashmir struggle be given Afghan colour and called a *jehad*. But they easily forgot that the war in Afghanistan was in fact being fought between the US and the Soviet Union whereas in Kashmir, the issue had been presented before the international community as a territorial dispute between India and Pakistan. Even if we accept for a while that Pakistan succeeded in internationalising Kashmir issue, then the truth is that international opinion has not gone in favour of Pakistan in any case. Instead of repeating the experiment of Afghanistan in J&K, it would be better if all the organizations adopt a unified stand and launch the struggle for peaceful resolution of Kashmir issue through tripartite dialogue. Kashmiri people should raise their voice against false *fatwas* (religious decrees) issued by murderers, kidnappers and extortionists with vested interest.

The fighting groups in Kashmir including the security forces should remember that the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949 categorically states, "Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces, who have laid down their arms and those placed hors de combat by sickness, wounds, detentions or due to any other cause, shall in all circumstances, be treated humanely without adverse distinction for nation or race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth, or any other similar criteria. To this end, the following acts are and shall remain prohibited at any time and at any place whatsoever with respect to the above mentioned persons: (a) violence to life and persons, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture (b) taking of hostages (c) outrage upon personal dignity, in particular, humiliating and degrading treatment and (d) the passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgement pronounced by a regularly constituted court affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognised as indispensable for civilized people."

Indian security forces, unfortunately, have not been either trained in a manner as to realise their responsibility of upholding the human rights of the people even in a state of turmoil or that they intentionally ignore it. Aged persons and children have been arrested or kidnapped and tortured. What justification can be there for Bejbehara carnage? All these incidents contravene the Geneva Convention to which India is a signatory.

For last five years, I have been highlighting various dimensions of armed struggle in Kashmir particularly the religious and communal colour which is being given to it as in Afghanistan.

It has to be understood that with the armed men from Afghanistan, Sudan and other Islamic countries being despatched to Kashmir to fight the Indian security forces there has only supported the case of India at international platforms. India is making a common cause with Egypt, Algeria and other Islamic countries faced with the rising crescendo of Islamic fundamentalism.

The explosion at the World Trade Centre in New York has also been attributed to Islamic fundamentalist - terrorist machinations. According to western diplomats, it is said that during the talks between the Indian authorities and the US Deputy Secretary of State, Mr. Talbott it was emphasised that when the US considered war against religious fundamentalism in Egypt, Algeria, Israel, Iran and Sudan as genuine and even extended support to it, why then was not the same importance given to Indian security forces fighting religious extremism in Kashmir? It is reported that a plethora of proofs of religious parties in Kashmir supporting annexation by Pakistan were placed before Mr. Talbott. This forced both Mr. Talbott and Robin Raphel to change their views on Kashmir.

It is of utmost importance that the truth is not made a casualty while addressing the Kashmir problem. Pakistan, for example, has already learnt a lesson for not speaking the truth. The lesson is the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971 and creation of Bangladesh. At that time, the President of Pakistan had, in his address to the nation, said that Pakistan would fight the war for a thousand years. Three hours later Pakistan army surrendered in East Pakistan. India went on listening to the lies of opportunists, selfish politicians and sycophants from Kashmir and suppressed the aspirations of Kashmiris only to serve some short term interests. On their part, Kashmiris have also seen the result of false promises and propaganda of their so-called well wishers of getting Kashmir liberated within six months.

The time has come when Kashmiris should stop believing in false propaganda. The time has come when the people speaking out the truth can no more be persecuted, threatened and intimidated. In Afghanistan Hekmatyar could not tolerate when courageous people spoke out the truth. Dozens of nationalist Afghans were killed by his hired persons in the streets of Peshawar and their cases are still pending before the

Commissioner for Afghanistan in Peshawar. Kashmiris have been secular minded people showing respect to all religions. They have had great respect for their saints and sufis who taught humanism.

The Afghan brand of Islam in which armed groups kill their own people and destroy their own tradition and cultural symbols will not be acceptable to Kashmiris. A Kashmiri mother whose son was martyred in Afghanistan in the name of jihad, poignantly said, "If Hizbe-e-Islami of Hekmatyar and Burhanud - Din Rabbani considered shedding of blood as justified in the name of Islam, then why and for what was my son martyred?" On January 10, 1994 Hekmatyar's and Dostum's bombers pounded the old and historical Blue Mosque of Kabul. Pul-e-Kheshti mosque was also destroyed in the course of bombardment and 400 persons were killed in this attack" (Dawn of Karachi, January 11, 1994). Kashmiris should learn a lesson from these happenings in Afghanistan and not go on lionising the mujahideen and their warlords as their deliverers. After Pakistan's debacle in Geneva on the question of a resolution against India, Kashmiris should think of resolving the tangle through a dialogue only. I conclude this write up with two sayings attributed to Hazrat Omar ibn Khattab:

(a) one who dominates through militancy is not a dominator but a dominated one, (b) one who succeeds through unfair means is not successful but a failure. The standard of anyone being reliable can be assessed by the fairness of his dealings with others and not by the number of prayers (namaz) offered by him.

(07.05.1994)

Postscript:

This article was written in 1994 when Burhanud-Din Rabbani headed the government in Kabul. But the government changed after some time and a new factor emerged on Afghan political scene namely the Taliban. However, as destiny would have it, this did not change the madness for a fratricide and a genocide in that country. The process of subjugating the people, suppressing the women and making them the target of male dictatorship or turning Afghanistan into a vast ruin has not been reversed. Of course what is changing are the loyalties; today Dostum is with Hekmatyar and tomorrow he is with Ahmad Shah Masu'd: his joining Taliban on a fine morning may not be ruled out. All this changing scenario should increase the utility of my article for Kashmiris. The killings and destruction brought to the people and the land during last two years by these warlords have been brought

exclusively in the name of Islam - the religion of peace, tolerance and amity. When we happen to meet an Afghan anywhere, he has no hesitation in saying that the period of Najibullah and of the Russians was the best period for Afghanistan.

Now Taliban have established their control on Kabul and a large part of Afghanistan. Unfortunately it has presented Islam as a retrograde and tribal system with all the characteristics of a backward society. Naturally this is a big challenge for the renowned and serious scholars of Islamic studies worldwide. They dragged out Dr. Najibullah and his brother from the UN premises in Kabul where they had sought refuge, hanged them in a public place and let their dead bodies remain there for four days. We ask what kind of Islam is this? In Algeria, innocent children are murdered in the name of Islam. Women and young people are dragged out of their homes and then murdered in cold blood in the name of Islam. In Afghanistan women have been debarred from working at places outside their homes and the doors of education and training have been closed on them. All this is done in the name of Islam. Does not this put a big question mark on Islam and the entire Muslim world?

Religious groups in Kashmir and those fighting in the name of religion also want us to be introduced to the fundamentalist Islam of Algerian, Afghan and Jamaat-e-Islami orientation. This Islam prompts its adherents to one another's murder, burning of school and college buildings and bridges, taking innocent foreign tourists as hostages or beheading them and killing one's own kith and kin in a barbaric manner in case of a difference of opinion as shown by the examples of Qazi Nisar and Malik Maqbool. Is this the Islam brought by the prophet in Arabia? It cannot be in any case. The Islam taught by him is of protection of humanism. He even pardoned Hindab, the wife of Abu Sufyan who had ripped open the chest of Hazrat Hamza (Prophet's uncle) and torn away his heart. Hazrat Ali felled his adversary and jumped on his body to kill him. His victim then spat at him which prompted Hazrat Ali to change his mind and let him go. When asked about this strange behaviour, Hazrat Ali said that his adversary's behaviour had aroused the sentiment of personal enmity and anger in him. Had he killed him under that impulse, he would have been a criminal before God. This was the level of training Hazrat Ali had received in the school of the Holy Prophet (PBUH).

Let us have a look at the deeds of those who claim to be the Islamic missionaries: let us look at those who claim that through armed struggle they were going to change the course of history. The harsh reality is that they have given nothing to the society except killing, loot and destruction.

To Islam they have rendered only disservice. This write up, therefore, invites those who have unleashed murder and arson in the name of Islam and those who have initiated what they call a religious war (jihad) in Kashmir and in particular the common people in Kashmir to make some introspection. It invites them to adequate reaction to the questions that have been raised. The time has come when the people of Kashmir should divert their energies towards the amelioration of millions of people and the humanity at large so that the hurdles and difficulties in the path of our future generations could be removed and a prosperous, free and vibrant social order is provided.

The Taliban have attempted to show up the face of Islam to the common people in Afghanistan through the use of brute force. Even ordinary people who have faith in Islam would to lament the thinking and approach of Taliban. News emanating from Kabul say that the Taliban have imposed a ban on women going to schools and colleges and universities. A baker was awarded eight day's imprisonment and a sound thrashing for selling bread to a woman. People were dragged on the road for not wearing beard. A tailor was punished for taking the measurement of a woman. As we stand on the threshold of 21st century, is this the picture of Islam we are going to present to the people in Kashmir dispassionately ?.

Amsterdam, July 20, 1997

Chapter 9

THE ON-GOING KASHMIR WAR IN A NATIONAL LIBERATION PERSPECTIVE

The struggle of suppressed peoples against tyranny and exploitation is as old as human history. In some places, this war was fought by individuals whose names became immortal. The struggle against tyranny became organised as man's political consciousness grew and, peoples' power overcame state tyranny through organised parties. That is how North American, Asian, African and West Asian nations and countries liberated themselves from imperialist strangulation. In our own times, there are examples of Vietnam and Algeria. These two countries defeated two big world powers because they fought from the platform of organised political parties. Nowhere was any struggle carried on in the name of religion or accession. In Afghanistan, the United States and Pakistan made the Afghans fight in the name of religion. The results are before us. Religious fanatics are shedding one another's blood in that country.

Regional and Sub-regionalism

Unfortunately, the Kashmiri nation (all those who reside in the erstwhile State of Jammu and Kashmir) has not been told till this day the real meaning of national independence or of nationhood. But politicians in pursuance of their vested interest have exploited religion and communities. The people of Kotli considered Mirpuris and the Muzaffarabadis considered the Poonchis as their enemies. In Jammu and Ladakh, hatred was generated against the people of the Valley resulting in intellectual backwardness. Unfortunately, our so-called politicians and intelligentsia also talked of regionalism. As a result, we see Poonch

dismembered to create the district of Bagh; Muzaffarabad has been divided between the locals and refugees. Kashmiris settled in Pakistan are divided into segments from the Valley and from Jammu. The tragedy is that the people of the Valley are not willing to accept non-Valley people in Kashmir and they are called 'naqli', meaning fake Kashmiris.

Sectarian Insanity

In the same strain, the people of Jammu have their own perception of the people of the Valley. The people of Gilgit and Baltistan have nicknamed Kashmiris as 'ganja' meaning tonsured. Colonial forces in Pakistan occupied Kashmir and their agents have practically divided Kashmir on the Indian side into many parts. I am reminded of a speech of late K.H. Khurshid in which he told his listeners, "you have heard my speech but you would give your vote to Sardar Ibrahim." It may be mentioned here that late K.H. Khurshid belonged to the Valley. On the Indian side, the Kashmiri politicians in the Valley taught hatred and individualism in the name of religion and accession. The people of Ladakh were told to hate the Valley people. In other words, in all the three regions the politicians preached hatred and regionalism only to ensure vote banks for themselves. Today although we shout at the top of our voice that the State of Jammu and Kashmir cannot be divided, the ground realities are that we have divided it ourselves on communal, regional and religious basis.

It is tragic that self-styled nationalist Amanullah Khan and some of his supporters started the present struggle in Kashmir in league with the ISI. A man with common sense can understand that any movement started in a Muslim majority area with the help of Pakistani military intelligence will eventually mean a religious struggle.

Therefore, in 1984 when ISI Generals and Brigadiers approached me with the offer "get us young people for training from the Valley so that they could fight India on their return", I said, "we believe in a Free Kashmir and we have our eyes on Gilgit and Baltistan and we regard Azad Kashmir as occupied. You yourself are an occupying force and you want to give us arms against another occupying force. Such a struggle can only serve your objectives. We will not be a party to any such scheme which would destroy my nation and use our young people as fodder for guns and further divide Kashmir with hatred."

It is a long story of how I had to flee Pakistan and go in a self-imposed exile along with my family because the ISI and its agents were

after my blood. Today, after ten years my fears have proved correct. The military establishment then picked up Amanullah Khan from a tiny village in Gilgit to carry out the task they wanted me to do. According to Altaf Indrabi who was once Amanullah's comrade but later on returned to the Muhaz-e- Azzadi), "ISI needed a man who hated the Valley. Amanullah spent his childhood in his sister's house in the Valley and owing to his unimpressive features and dwarfish stature suffered from inferiority complex. Perhaps it was because of this complex that he ran away back to Gilgit from S.P. College in Srinagar and always hated the youth of the Valley."

In the light of Indrabi's assessment we will have to take note of the fact that in the beginning Amanullah received weapons and funds from the ISI to lure Kashmiris (to Azad Kashmir) for training. There was no talk of liberation of Gilgit, and Baltistan and Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. There are colleges, university, medical and technical colleges in the Valley whereas in Astor and in Gilgit from where Amanullah comes, there is not even a middle school in his village till this day nor have the people the right to vote. There is no High Court or Supreme Court there. Till today Amanullah's JKLF has not organised a public meeting or a procession there to demand democratic rights for the people. Amanullah proved that he was an agent of the ISI when he kept away along with the peoples Party, Liberation League, Muslim Conference and Tehrik-e-Amal Party from Azad Kashmir High Court's proceedings which delivered its judgement on March 8, 1993.

Amanullah under instructions from the ISI got the Kashmiri youth from the Valley for training, but never talked of the liberation of POK. On March 8, 1993 when the Azad Kashmir High Court gave its verdict about (the ownership of) Gilgit and Baltistan, the writ exposed Amanullah as the man of the ISI or military establishment. The Chief Justice wrote on page 10 of the verdict as this: " People's Party, Liberation League, Muslim Conference, Tehrik-e- Amal Party and JKLF did not present themselves it appeared they all had migrated although Amanullah only once put up his appearance during cross examination". The court then said, " (They) failed to turn up. The proceedings were ex-parte."

If today in the Valley any one has any doubts, he should see the writ petition No. 51/1990 of March 8, 1993 already alluded to. The JKLF did not launch a struggle against the occupation force in Occupied Kashmir and Gilgit and Baltistan even though the Pakistani rulers and politicians had made clear their stand on Kashmir's accession to

Pakistan, and Nawabzadeh Nasrullah Khan openly condemned pro-independence elements as 'Indian Agents'.

The Liberation Front youth in the Valley must note that the JKLF did not protest even after the killing of nine youths by the Pakistani army on February 11, 1993. They only arm the youth of the Valley and tell them to go back to the Valley and fight the Indians. This drama was staged by the ISI (which remained in the background) to escape America declaring Pakistan a terrorist state. This was revealed by Raja Muzaffar Khan at a press conference. About this, Azam Inquilabi wrote in the June issue of *Wahdat* that "as far as politicians of Azad Kashmir are concerned, they are more interested in establishing their influence than in the liberation of Kashmir."

He tells leaders and politicians of Azad Kashmir, "You are not interested in helping mujahideen and those affected. Yes, you are interested in sending only money and guns to put Kashmir on fire, not to liberate it. Kashmiri youth are killing one another with these guns. If one must fight in the name of ideological differences then why do not the supporters and opponents of accession and independence fight among themselves in Muzaffarabad? Why have you destroyed Kashmir with this dissension and abuse?"

In other words, the so-called Kashmiri nationalists have exploited the Kashmiri youths right from the beginning for objectives which include fame and wealth. For these objectives Amanullah and his followers were not ashamed of working as agents of the ISI. They called themselves patriots and described those who resented control of the Liberation Front by the ISI as Indian agents although they themselves are ISI agents. When Pakistani agencies managed to entrench themselves in Kashmir they began sermonising the Liberation Front youth and establishing new groups by different names.

Maulavi Farooq's Murder

As a result, a time came when Kashmir had 156 groups. Even now there are about 76 of them. The ISI pushed aside the nationalists and began giving material help to pro-Pakistan groups and ordered the assassination of all those in the Valley who could push the movement towards national independence. A family friend of Maulavi Farooq told me that Maulavi Farooq was martyred just because he preached three things (a) now when you have taken up the gun, raise only the slogan of independence (b) you will not get international support if you raise the slogan of accession to Pakistan and of Nizam-e-Mustafa (c) protect

minorities especially the Kashmiri Pandits so that the movement does not get a communal colour. Maulavi Farooq was assassinated for these reasons. The ISI ran this movement on communal lines right from the beginning and for that Amanullah and his underlings became its agents.

The movement was introduced in the Valley and from there young men were brought to Azad Kashmir for training although there are also slaves in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir and Gilgit and Baltistan. Had Amanullah or the 'nationalist forces' in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir been really nationalists they would have fought in their own areas like the Kurds who fight those who have occupied their land in the countries where they are living. For example, the Kurds living in Syria are fighting the Syrian government against the occupation of their land, those living in Turkey are fighting the Turkish government and those living in Iran are fighting against the Iranian government, in Iraq against the Iraqi government. But this did not happen in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir.

When I visited Pakistan and the so-called Azad Kashmir in 1993 for two months, I was ashamed to learn that except a few of them, all so-called nationalists were eager to become the agents of ISI or some other intelligence agency. I found every body enslaved in the name of independence movement in the Valley and the young people who have been subjected to educational and economic deprivation and political exploitation for the last 50 years. Those who tried to expound true nationalism in Azad Kashmir were branded by Amanullah and his henchmen as Indian agents.

Now let us examine what these real nationalists have to say. They say national independence presupposes people in the five regions to be first mentally prepared for complete independence of Jammu and Kashmir. They say that this struggle should not be on a religious basis. Then if the people of POK accept support from Indian agencies like RAW and IB against Pakistan, they would not be called patriots. Likewise if anybody living in Indian Occupied Kashmir becomes an ISI instrument for achieving independence, he would not be a patriot.

It is difficult to speak this truth in the present atmosphere in Kashmir. Those who call themselves nationalists would only hate this truth. They try to cover up their own role (as instruments of the ISI) by accusing true nationalists. I have no compunction in saying this. I congratulate the ISI and other Pakistani agencies for very cleverly diverting the rising resentment against political and economic exploitation in "Azad" Kashmir (POK), Gilgit and Baltistan towards the movement in the Valley with the help of their agents. The defeat

Pakistan met with in East Pakistan at the hands of India is being avenged with the blood of Kashmiri youth, with the honour of Kashmiri women and through the destruction of our property.

Azam Inquilabi supports my stand in his article in *Wahdat* of June . He write," Is it not true that you ingrained in the minds of Kashmiri youth that Kashmiris acted as traitors in 1947 and in 1965 ? Is it not true that at times "friendly officers" in a fit of anger told innocent youth " we are wrecking vengeance on you for (your treachery in) 1965. Our mujahideen themselves heard these remarks but swallowed the humiliation."

The Truth

The youth who returned from Azad Kashmir (POK) and Pakistan now know the conditions in Pakistani Occupied Kashmir, also called Azad Kashmir, and Gilgit and Baltistan. There is unemployment and young people go to England and to West Asian countries in search of a job. They have exploited the ongoing struggle in the Valley for getting political asylum in European countries. Job opportunities in Azad Kashmir are just non- existent.

These Kashmiris, settled abroad, took out processions for the independence of Kashmir at the behest of Pakistan, but they never protested against Pakistan's occupation of Kashmir and Gilgit and Baltistan. Recently, Chairman of Kashmir Committee, Nawabzadeh Nasrullah Khan said, "those who demanded independent Kashmir were the agents of India". Mrs. Benazir Bhtto has reportedly said that " there are only two options, accession with India or with Pakistan ".

Instead of implementing the verdict of the High Court of Azad Kashmir (POK) that Gilgit and Baltistan were part of Kashmir, Pakistan government approached the Supreme Court for the reversal of this order on technical grounds. No nationalist organisation in Azad Kashmir protested against this step of Islamabad. They did not demonstrate in front of any foreign embassy (as the Valley-based dissident leadership generally does in New Delhi) when the Government of Pakistan announced a package of reforms strengthening the grip of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs over them. Amanullah or his Liberation Front, too, did not protest although he himself comes from Gilgit.

Accession to Pakistan

It is for this reason that our national movement couldn't receive any support from international organisations or from the press as was the case with the Palestinians or other national movements in the world. We did not run our movement along the lines of national struggle. In England, the Palestinian representative is a christian and s is the lady who represented Palestine at the talks with Israel.

As compared to this, we said that our case was Islamic and that was the basis of our demand for joining Pakistan. The Kashmir Committee is packed with Pakistanis and so are all the delegations which go abroad to plead Pakistan's stand on Kashmir issue. Pakistan, as a gesture of kindness to the people of Occupied Kashmir, will include some members of the Jamaat-e-Islami or the Muslim Conference in these delegations because they stand for Kashmir's accession to Pakistan.

Ghulam Qadir Wani said in Muzaffarabad on April 20, 1993, "we had launched a perfect freedom movement, but it was hijacked and converted into an insurgency; and now the inner independent character of the movement is being eliminated. That has created psychological, social and political problems. Today, the entire Kashmiri nation, particularly the youth, is psychologically ailing ; it is being deprived of its future and its self-respect is being trampled, it is being bartered away or put on auction. The problem of dedication and sacrifice has come to a naught and loyalties are being purchased in the open market.

" This is the same nation that demonstrated unprecedented unity during the holy relic episode. Did not this nation initiate a movement from the common platform of Muslim United Front for recovering its usurped rights? Did not this nation bring into existence the unity in the freedom movement of Kashmir? In the beginning of the on-going movement, this nation demonstrated unparalleled example of fraternity, love, unity, sympathy and dedication. But those determined to play with these sentiments made this nation a laboratory for their experiments. They first used it in the name of freedom and self-determination and delivered sermons of accessions. In this way they manipulated confrontation between the people of these two streams of thought which consumed people like Maulana Farooq, Dr. Abdul Ahad Guru, Prof. Abdul Ahad Wani, Muhammad Maqbool Malik, Ghulam Muhammad Rather and Ghulam Muhammad Ganai. **"he added"**.

We have never heard of clashes between groups in Azad Kashmir who are pro and anti accession with Pakistan. Why do these clashes take place in a region where the unfortunate people are exposed to ethnic

cleansing by the Indian security forces? The answer is that the majority of self-determinists in Azad Kashmir is on the pay roll of the ISI and other agencies and pro-Pak accessionists are a part of them. Raja Muzaffar Khan received a cheque of 17.73 lakh rupees from Sardar Qayyum Khan in May 1990. Why then should these people launch any movement for freedom of AK? The pro and anti - accession groups in Azad Kashmir are thriving at the expense of Kashmiri youth and the honour of our sisters and daughters in Kashmir. These groups will lose their political status and bread and butter if they fight among themselves.

Dr. Ghulam Qadir Wani lived in AK and Pakistan. He had gained experience of how ISI functioned. On the basis of his experience he cried at the top of his voice and under an impulse of patriotism as this "We want to maintain the identity of Kashmir liberation movement only as a native and peoples' movement for total freedom. But here experience has taught us that peoples' movement has been hijacked through money and muscle power and is being used as an instrument for exploitative purposes as did the East India Company. It degenerates into an insurgency and its reins are no longer in the hands of its initiators."

Wounded Hearts

Farooq Rahmani has been, for the whole of his life, an ardent supporter of Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. He fanatically held on to this view point. In the second introduction to his book *Azaadi ki Talash* he writes, "For the last three years, I am in Pakistan and Azad Kashmir. But even to this day, I consider myself a traveller and the travel of *jehad* continues. The scars of being a stranger (in this land) are fresh. I had come (to AK and Pakistan) in the belief that Azad Kashmir is our own part and that Pakistan is our native land. I had thought here I would work for the liberation of entire Kashmir from the clutches of foreigners.

Alas! In AK, we are considered foreigners and in order to prove our citizenship and Kashmiriyat, we have to approach the courts. Our dreams were shattered, dreams which we had been nursing for many years in our wounded breasts. Those wounds are still fresh and love is still abiding. But I am being forced to abandon my love. Should I curse this love to the full?"

Addressing the Pakistanis, he writes: "How come the Kashmiris who despite being far away from you, were close to you. But today despite being close to you, are far away from you? There was no distance then between hearts but wherefore have these appeared now and why

created"? Farooq Rahmani, who had been dancing to the tune of Pakistan throughout his life, discloses the real picture of Pakistan in these words,

" Ideologically and functionally Pakistan is an Islamic welfare and democratic state but feudalism continues to exist, capitalism is flourishing and western cultural dominate society."

He endorses my stand in these words," The movement for freedom and Islam demand that no leadership should be imposed on people through the use of gun or opportunism or guile. Today, we feel that despite political freedom this is a helpless and destitute nation, suspended between the earth and the sky. For several years in the past, Pakistan has been unmaking the system of search for leadership in Kashmir. The region of Azad Kashmir has been going along the same path for many years in the past. It has no sensitivity of gain or loss or of the pure and defiledToday when the freedom movement has reached the midday of its life, various freedom-loving parties, mujahideen and activists have become one another's sworn enemies."

Farooq Rahmani laments !

" The way the means of jehad movement are being used for making and breaking, is a phenomenon the like of which is not to be found in several decades in the past. We wish we had known the type of persons who occupy positions here. Then our youth would not have ventured to risk their lives over snow-clad peaks to come here. They would have carried on their struggle against India with their own resources. By deciding to take the path leading across the cease-fire line, our policies slipped out of our hands. Our youth became toys in the hands of other people and our policies instead of becoming guiding principles became the source of earning money. One major benefit which we desired from our sallies from occupied Kashmir to Azad Kashmir is that the presence of heaps of filthy politics was confirmed. Its stink has made the life of locals a virtual hell." The conclusions drawn by Farooq Rahmani are as these: 1. Material and political support given for the struggle for liberation is apparently moral and humanitarian but practically it is all conditional. 2. Regimes and parties in Pakistan and Azad Kashmir will be demonstrating different identities and will be raising emotive slogans but all this rhetoric will be for self-preservation because both feel endangered.

Destruction of Kashmir's Heritage

Farooq Rahmani spent all his life in Indian Occupied Kashmir raising the slogan of accession to Pakistan. He has been honest in his convictions and sacrificed everything for the same without any remuneration. After three years of experimentation, he has reached the same conclusion at which Maqbool Butt, the martyr, and myself had reached after two and a half month's internment in the Shahi Qila of Lahore. What Farooq Rahmani writes today, was written by me five years ago. But then as today, the paid agents of ISI labelled all those persons as Indian agents who spoke the truth. At this point let me once again quote Dr. Ghulam Qadir Wani. In the Urdu magazine called *Wahdat* of June 1994, he wrote an article under the heading *Wuh gul hun mein khazan hargul ki hai goya khazan meri*. He said: "Influential capitalists gave funds to various organisations as donations in order to undertake illegal constructions and encroachments in Dal lake which made it shrink considerably. It speaks of our insensitivity. One does not see the like of such destruction of nature's beauty and ungratefulness for her bounty. The consequences of this thanklessness, crudeness and insensitivity can be very harsh. On the one side Dal lake is shrinking, and on the other side the tall and beautiful deodar trees are felled. The forests are mercilessly destroyed. From the heights of Khilan Marg to the foothills of Harmukh and the virgin woods of Pahalgam have become the targets of this large scale vandalism. The rising fir trees in the Valley of Lolab and on the upland of Bandipore cry aloud against their molestation. Are we inviting famine like Somalia,? Isn't it that at the behest of somebody we has embarked on stealing Kashmir of her prestine beauty, her rich forests and her resources so that all possibilities of her existence as a free country are eliminated. Panchayat houses have been burnt, beautiful buildings have been turned into ruins. The people of Kashmir had with much labour and with the cooperation of locals built imposing buildings from funds raised voluntarily to house schools and teaching institutions. No trace of these is to be found. The grand building of Islamia College, its laboratory and its enviable library all have been reduced to ashes. And what has been the benefit? Why this funeral of knowledge, literature, culture and civilization? If it is a part of the jihad movement, then why has it remained restricted only to the Valley?

I have quoted from the writings and speeches of Azam Inquilabi, Dr. Ghulam Qadir Wani and Farooq Rahmani for the specific reason that these three gentlemen remained associated with the on-going movement from the very beginning and were openly cooperating with Pakistani institutions. But they also love the motherland — Kashmir. As such they are also expressing the same truth which the martyr Maqbool Butt and I

have been expressing thought out our lives. Azam Inquilabi made these confessions in an open letter he wrote to Maqbool Butt which was published in the *Wahdat* of June 1994. He said,

"When you need to express your acute hatred against exploitation and divisive politics in the free atmosphere of Azad Kashmir and Pakistan, I was at a loss to understand what relation could be there between the words exploitation and divisiveness in the free atmosphere that prevailed here (Pakistan and AK). But today I fully understand how auspicious and virtuous it is to fight against the exploitative feudalism, capitalism and oppressive system existing here (Pakistan and AK)."

Massacre of Kashmiri Nation

Now about the movement — where it stands, about mental, physical, economic and political destruction which Kashmiris have suffered — the real and eye-opening picture is available in the writings of Azam Inquilabi, Farooq Rahmani and Dr. Ghulam Qadir Wani. Let me remind my readers that these three gentlemen along with their parties are the components of APHC.

The groups and parties in the Valley of Kashmir claiming to fight under attractive slogans of freedom or even jihad, generally murder their own brethren for telling the truth. Newspapers are threatened for giving the true news or informing the public about rival groups. Offices and official properties are destroyed with bomb blasts, newspapers are set on fire. Who destroyed the bridges on the river Jhelum or those linking villages with one another? Who is selling forest timber clandestinely? Can we find a more lamentable example of collective national suicide by a nation claiming to be engaged in liberation struggle but actually indulging in fratricide, in burning schools and buildings, bridges and public structures. What loss does it inflict on India? It is the people of Kashmir who are facing difficulties in communication, lack of educational facilities and illiteracy entering into each house.

Is it not the time that Kashmiri intellectuals, educationists, politicians, journalists and jurists, students and teachers one and all who have any love for Kashmir, review the five-year-old struggle and make a positive analysis. They must examine whether we Kashmiris have been able to win any support at the international platform? Statements in newspapers, moving resolutions in Kashmir, all these are nothing more than gimmicks to keep Kashmiris in good humour while compassing the destruction of their youth.

If there was any pressure on India from the international community with regard to Kashmir, its official authorities would not have announced allocation of 7.80 thousand million rupees for rebuilding destroyed colleges, schools and bridges in Kashmir. Why should not one examine why we have not been able to win international support? The answer is simple. The five-year-old struggle in the Valley could not pose as a true national liberation movement. It could project itself as nothing more than a communal and pro-Pak accession movement as far as international public opinion is concerned. By forcing Kashmiri Pandits out of Kashmir, and then by looting and burning their abandoned properties, labelled it a theocratic and communal movement. The slogans for accession to Pakistan, likewise, denied it the legitimacy of a truly national liberation movement. With regard to our inability to win international support, let me refer to an article written by Sayyid Ali Shah Geelani for the London-based *Jang* on October 21, 1994. He writes: "Representatives at international level, while visiting us, do not, unfortunately, feel the agony of oppressed Kashmiris. In fact they come here as representatives of their own interests. It appears that they visit us not as protectors of the rights and interests of Kashmiris but as upholders of the interests of imperialists, and in the process, they begin to teach us, seduce us or frighten us."

Many Kashmiris are misled into thinking that international opinion is mobilised in favour of the movement. This wishful thinking is created by those who make business of the dead bodies of Kashmiri youth and collect enormous funds by way of donations. But it should be very clear that the international opinion does not support Kashmir cause because of communal slogans raised by religious groups and parties. Therefore this movement needs drastic reform. There is the need that we are not intimidated by the threat of the gun and instead venture to save the nation from falling into the abyss of destruction.

Introspection

In these circumstances if the nationalists in Kashmir really want freedom and self-determination, they should rise against all forces that dominate Kashmir. The people of Gilgit, Baltistan and Azad Kashmir (POK) should smoothen public opinion. The people in the Valley will have to solicit participation of Kashmiri Pandits and the residents in Jammu and Ladakh regions in the struggle by assuring them security of life and future. Perhaps their participation may not be possible unless Kashmiri Pandits return to the Valley and unless religion-based struggle waged in the Valley on the basis of pro-Pakistan accession is transformed into true national liberation struggle. Kashmir loyalists should also reject the UN

The Unveiling of Truth

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Resolution of January 4, 1949 because these resolutions give the Kashmiri people the right to join one or the other state only. The Simla Agreement also stipulates that the two countries, India and Pakistan alone can decide about Kashmir. This means that the aspirations of Kashmiris have no place in the resolution of the UN and also in the Simla Agreement.

At the same time, during past five years, Pakistani rulers totally ruled out the third option for Kashmir on national and international level. For them there is only one path for the Kashmiris and that is accession to Pakistan. When any suggestion other than accession to Pakistan is put forward by any well-meaning person, the pro-Pak accessionists in Kashmir, Pakistani official circles and Pakistani media sources label him as a traitor and protagonist of Indian interests. This is despite the fact while these pro-Pak organisations and Pakistan official circles, speaking about the UN Resolutions, readily forget that in the light of these resolutions it is not a crime to speak about accession to India. In the eyes of Pakistani ruling circles, politicians, bureaucracy and the army, only those persons and parties in Azad Kashmir can be considered patriotic who are their yes-men. They want that by 'freedom' these people should mean and express accession to Pakistan. Therefore they speak the language of bullets and bombs only. This was proved by the harsh reaction to Yasin Malik's posture by Pakistani rulers, their institutions and their media. Yasin Malik had spoken only of change in tactics in the on-going struggle meaning thereby resorting to non-violent civil disobedience only. From the deeply passionate writings of Azam Inquilabi, Ghulam Qadir Wani and Farooq Rahmani, it became clear that the leadership of Azad Kashmir and their pseudo-sympathisers have no remedial measures for the problems and difficulties of Kashmiris of the Valley, their hunger, their disease and their suffering. But, of course, they are impatient to see more and more bodies dropping dead, more youth filling the prisons and incarceration camps. This dreadful scenario of death and destruction gives them the pretext to collect millions of pounds all over the world in the name of war in Kashmir and leave immense properties and estates for their progeny.

The cry of the hour is that true lovers of Kashmiris come forward and initiate a jihad — a great struggle — against falsehood and fraud and leave behind traces of truth for their coming generations. I would like to exhort Kashmiri people to speak the truth, bear the truth, write the truth, tolerate the truth and stifle not the voice of truth. Indeed they must support the truth.

Oct. 26, 1994

Chapter 10

THE CHRAR-E-SHARIF DESECRATION, KIDNAPINGS AND ELECTION

The shrine of Shiekh Nurud-Din, generally known to Kashmiris as Alamdar-e-Kashmir, is venerated by people of all faiths in Kashmir. Many people in Kashmir consider him as the symbol of secularism, tolerance and respect for all religions. He was an ardent upholder of sufism in Kashmir which conveys the message of love, tolerance and brotherhood among people of all faiths. Hindus call him Nund Rishi.

But even the burial place of this great apostle of humanism and a saint of high spiritual qualities was not spared. It was selected for perpetration of all those negative qualities like hatred, destruction and humiliation of mankind which the saint abhorred throughout his life. Around this place, life property and hope of human beings was razed to ground. The question is who is responsible for the tragedy of Chrar-e-Sharif and the destruction of the khanqah of Nund Rishi, the patron-saint of all Kashmiris?

No religion, organisation or law has permitted the use of mosques, shrines, hospices, temples and gurudwaras for personal or political purposes in any form and shape. It is extremely important for political organisations and leadership in Kashmir that they persistently discourage recurrence of events like those in Dargah Hazratbal and Chrar-e-Sharif. We must learn lessons from history. Islamic history tells us that when Abdullah ibn Omar sought refuge in the Holy Ka'ba, Hajjaj ibn Yusuf hurled fire containers on it (cannon balls were not known then and instead stones and fire containers were thrown on the enemy). The

Holy place caught fire. When the Kharijis took control of Ka'ba in 1991, it was declared that within the Holy premises, life of a living being including the flying birds will not be taken.

Despite this binding which is the part of Islamic tradition, the joint commando force of Saudi Arabia and France forced their way into the Holy Ka'ba, fought with the Kharijis and killed nearly 150 of them. During the days of Z.A. Bhutto and Ziaul-Huq in Pakistan, mosques, and the Shahi Mosque of Lahore in particular, were used by people for political purposes. Pakistani police and security forces came into action, used batons and bullets on people and chased them away from the places of worship. In 1993, people of a particular religious sect in Texas, USA, took some women and children as hostage. The state power reacted and F.B.I encircled the entire building. Nearly two hundred persons were burnt alive in the fire which broke out as a result of gun fire during the rescue operation. The victims included some women and children. All these instances show that sensible organisations, political or religious, and far-sighted leadership oppose and condemn the use of religious places for any purpose other than that of worshipping.

We should also find out whether any freedom movement anywhere in the world has ever put Holy places, mosques, churches or temples under siege in the course of its struggle in order to achieve political ends. Islamic history has no record to show that Muslims ever turned mosques into trenches. In fact Muslims have invariably avoided carrying their fight to the mosques with the main objective of preserving the sanctity and structure of the place. Even the most brutal and rapacious invaders have allowed mosques, temples, churches and other places of worship to be used as refuge by women, children, aged persons, handicapped and even unarmed young men. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) has strictly forbidden the use of mosques for purposes like hatching a conspiracy, propaganda or backbiting. He had ordered the burning of Zawwar mosque in Medina because he had come to know that it was being used for backbiting, conspiracy and propaganda. Islamic thinkers agree that a place where conspiracies are hatched against humanism, human beings and society, cannot be called a holy place. We have already alluded to events that took place in Mecca in 1991. It is incumbent upon Muslims that they do not allow desecration of Holy places because the Holy Qur'an says "you have your religion and we have our religion." Therefore we must condemn the misuse of Golden Temple in Amritsar and we must also condemn the destruction of Babri Masjid. But at the same time we must also condemn Mahmud Ghaznavi's attack on Somnath temple. In retaliation to the happenings of Babri Masjid and Chrar-e-Sharif, we should not have burnt the temples to indicate sense of

revenge. By burning and destroying the temples, we have committed the same crime which the extremists had committed by destroying Babri Masjid or which the Hezbul Mujahideen or Indian security forces committed by burning Chrar-e-Sharif.

Kashmiriyat butchered

It is natural that we Kashmiris are somewhat sentimental in the case of Chrar-e-Sharif. It was the holiest symbol of Kashmiriyat and brotherhood. But as a living nation we shall have to take stock of our mistakes since we are passing through one of the worst phases of our history. We are caught between two rising religious extremist movements in the sub-continent. History will not spare us if we chose to become sentimental or allow to be swayed by the overpowering blind enmity when we should actually make some introspection. We must call to book those who, while claiming that they want to liberate Kashmiris, take refuge in religion by turning mosques and hospices into trenches and in the process inviting Indian security forces to desecrate them. Shall we achieve freedom by burning bridges, schools, colleges and health centres? Indeed it appears that like Afghanistan, Kashmir is also heading towards destruction caused by unbridled fratricide. Factional fighting in Afghanistan has not only taken a heavy toll of human life but has also brought destruction to hospitals, bridges, schools etc. all in the name of Islam. Mosques and places of worship of fair antiquity have not been spared. This tragedy is being re-enacted in Kashmir.

In the case of Chrar-e-Sharif, we should try to come out of peculiar mindset stimulated by false propaganda, self-made religious war, blind enmity and stupid friendship. We should care for an analysis of the situation based on logic and facts. We shall have to bring under scrutiny the statements and actions of religious extremists. Indian and Pakistani agencies and politicians, some political parties, their leadership and militant groups in Kashmir, all have become prisoners of their mindset. In the process, they have imposed a ban of sorts on the solution of problems to Kashmiris, their freedom of expression and the opportunities of their economic development. However, not succumbing to any of these infirmities, I have taken upon myself to speak my heart to the common man and woman in Kashmir with the sole purpose of helping them in their search for truth.

On April 22, 1995, armed men announced from within Chrar-e-Sharif, "we have planted landmines (of 20 kilograms) all around and in Chrar-e-Sharif and even a single blast will be strong enough to raze the entire area to dust." After the destruction of Chrar-e-Sharif, Maulana

Muhammad Farooq of Harakatu'l-Ansar issued a statement in Muzaffarabad (POK) which was carried by all newspapers in Pakistan. It said, "we shall carry the fire of Chrar-e-Sharif to all the cities of India. Now this fire will raze Delhi and Bombay to ground." On May 15, 1995 Yusuf Jameel, the correspondent of BBC filed the news, "fifty members of Hizbu'l-Mujahideen and Harakatu'l-Ansar have been taken prisoners in Chrar-e-Sharif out of whom three members have been killed. Harakatu'l-Ansar said that one of its commanders named Abu Jindal had been captured and about 30 dead bodies recovered from the site of whom twenty were those of foreign armed persons." This means that Kashmiri militants did not participate in Chrar-e-Sharif operation. But if there were a few of them, they were obliged to accept the diktat of Mast Gul and Abu Jindal. Everybody knows that Harakatu'l-Ansar and Hizbu'l-Mujahideen activists do not accept the philosophy of sufism nor the following of saints, rishis and spiritual guides. But it is amusing that when Mast Gul returned to Pakistan, activists of Jamaat-e-Islami and its allied parties gave him and his companions a rousing reception. From this euphoric reception, one carried the impression as if Mast Gul had brought to Pakistan and the Jamaat-e-Islami the coveted gift called Kashmir. What has, in truth, been the contribution of Mast Gul? Should not Kashmiris ask this question? Mast Gul did not only bring about the destruction of the hospice of the great spiritualist of Kashmir, he also attacked and mutilated with all savagery the tradition of humanism, tolerance and sufism in Kashmir. When back in Pakistan, Mast Gul gave a statement which was published by the *Jang* London in its issue of August 15, 1995. We would like to invite the attention of the Kashmiris and their leadership to this statement. Addressing a public rally (in Pakistan), Mast Gul said, "Those demanding independence are the agents of Bharat. Only India is supporting independent Kashmir. Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front activists had sold their conscience at Hazratbal graveyard (shrine). Malik Yasin has become a stooge of India in order to replay the role Shiekh Abdullah had played."

This statement of Mast Gul explains two things. First, the real inheritors of Kashmir, meaning all Kashmiris inclusive of believers in different faiths, are all "traitors and Indian agents" because they want independent Kashmir. Second, the process of resolving Hazratbal crisis peacefully and saving that shrine from destruction is characterised by Mast Gul as "selling of conscience." Furthermore, the activity of Mast Gul in reducing Chrar-e-Sharif to ruins is called "a heroic deed". From this, will not the people of Kashmir who love every inch of their land, infer that the plan of destroying Chrar-e-Sharif, or getting it destroyed, was drawn by foreign armed men? On March 13, 1995 and again on March 27, Indian officials had agreed to ensure safe passage to Pakistan

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of all armed men holed up in Chrar-e-Sharif. This offer was also formally announced. It should be reminded that in the case of Hazratbal siege all armed persons whom safe passage was promised were eventually set free. One of them belonging to POK was safely sent back across the border. Mast Gul and his companions had rejected this offer. But by not permitting the Hurriyat Conference leaders and international press to enter Chrar-e-Sharif, Indian security forces took upon themselves the blame of destruction and desecration of Chrar-e-Sharif. In any case, we shall have to analyse how only the extremists benefitted from the tragic event.

The incident exacerbated hatred on the basis of religion. In fact organisations like Harakatu'l- Ansar, Hizbu'l-Mujahideen, Jamat-e-Islami and Shiv Sena are essentially based on hatred and discrimination on the basis of faith. Their agenda is to use religion as a means of setting one group against another. India was preparing to hold elections in Kashmir. Chrar-e-Sharif tragedy scuttled that programme. Deepened religious hatred could become conducive for the fragmentation of Kashmir. By destroying Chrar-e-Sharif, it was intended to convince Kashmiri Muslims that their religious places and shrines were not safe anywhere in India. This would induce Kashmiris to get entangled in a religion-based war instead of carrying on their liberation movement. By citing the example of Chrar-e-Sharif tragedy more fuel would be added to Babri Masjid episode. The Indian Muslims would be further sensitised to religious hatred. And the most significant achievement of this action was the creation of dissatisfaction of the Muslim world towards India. These were the gains which the extremists in Kashmir may imagine they made from Chrar-e-Sharif incident.

But sensible people and governments worldwide consider it a wrong thing to utilise places of worship for political purposes. Chrar-e-Sharif destruction could, therefore, produce no tangible result for the freedom movement in Kashmir. May be it raised higher the walls of inter-religious hatred: may be it provided religious extremists added manpower to fill their ranks. These transient gains might have induced Harakatu'l-Ansar to impose a ban on the Hindu pilgrimaging to Holy Amarnath. And in doing so, the extremists unwittingly provided support to the Indian stand that the on-going strife in Kashmir was nothing but a religion-based struggle launched by religious extremists who had sought physical assistance of Afghans and Pakistanis. A reputed Kashmiri Pandit scholar and human rights activist participating in the UN Human Rights Commission's session in Geneva, made an intervention in which he raised the issue of the safety of pilgrims anywhere and everywhere in the world while citing the example of a ban and attack on Amarnath

pilgrims in Kashmir by religious extremist groups. Thus a new area of human rights violation was brought to notice which caught the attention of the Human Rights Commission.

In Pakistan or in Kashmir those who want to characterise the ongoing struggle as a religious war should remember that if they consider it a great victory for the religion to take a stretch of land 100 miles long and 60 miles broad then who will save the life, property and honour of twenty crores of Muslims in India from rapacious hands of religious extremists? What is the condition in Karachi of those migrant Muslims (mohajirs) from UP and CP who were instrumental in the creation of a new state based on religion? Which Islam prevails in Afghanistan where a religious war (jihad) has been launched in contemporary times? Which Islam reigns supreme in that country where hospitals, mosques, buildings, seminaries, roads, bridges and all such things are destroyed as are considered civic facilities for the populace? What service is being rendered to Islam by embarking on a large scale fratricide? The case is not much different in Kashmir. After the Chrar-e-Sharif incident, more than 100 houses, 30 temples, 50 schools and over 90 public buildings and health centres were systematically destroyed. What service did this massive destruction have rendered to Islam? Is it not the personal loss of Kashmiri people?

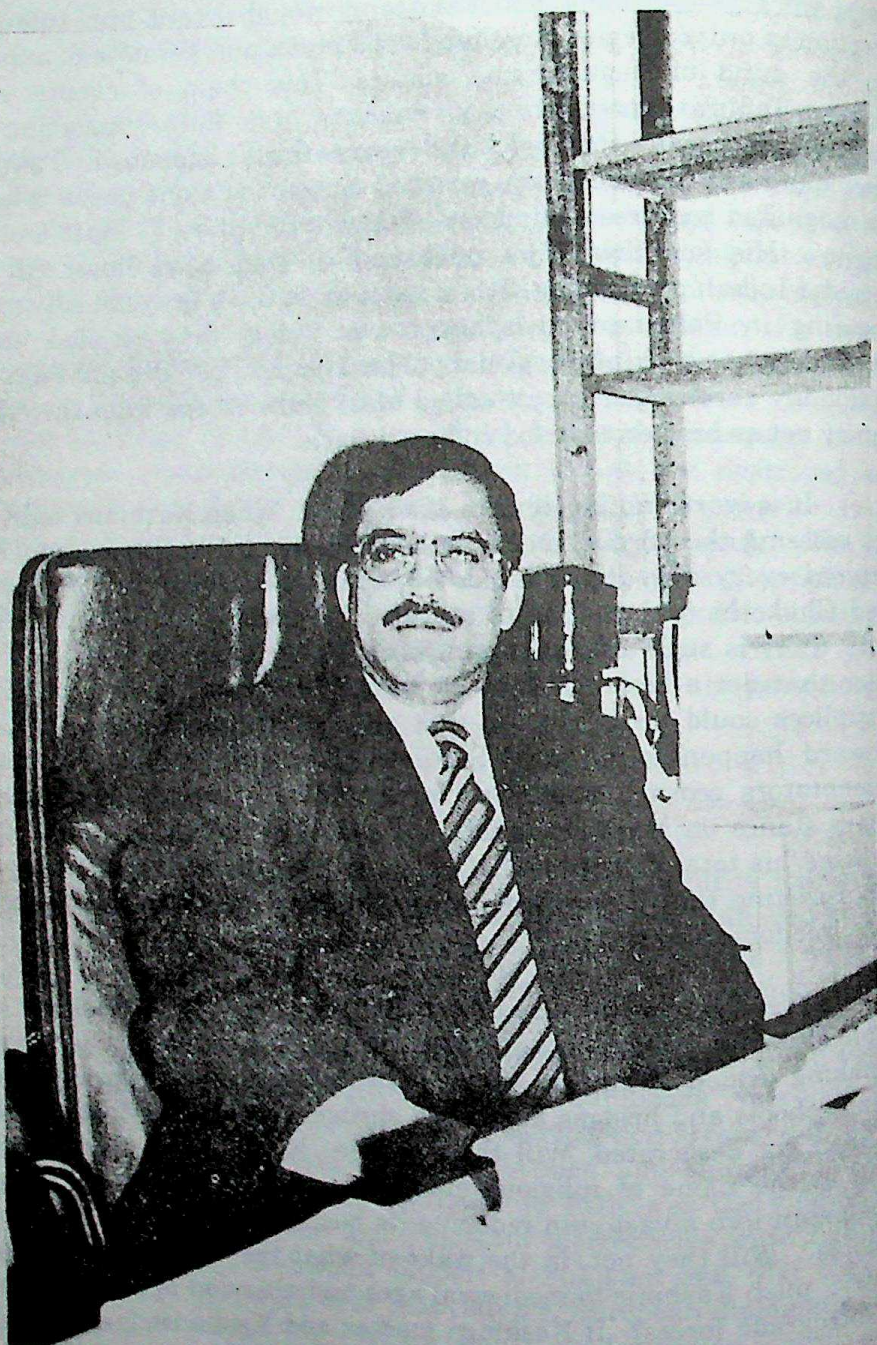
Mast Gul's escape and reception

Despite the formidable presence of Indian security forces around Chrar-e-Sharif town, Mast Gul and his accomplices managed to escape along with their machine guns and other arms. It sprung a surprise on inquisitive minds. The sensational escape made a common Kashmiri prisoner of hero-worship. In order to cash upon it, Jamaat-e-Islami gave a hero's reception to Mast Gul and his companions. PPP circles in Pakistan and the Chairman of Kashmir Committee, Sahibzada Nasrullah Khan, made a loud protest against the tumultuous reception arranged by Jamaat-e-Islami for Mast Gul and company. Armed and equipped Mast Gul's contingent's return to a hero's welcome in POK was the vindication of India's stand that Afghan and Pakistani mercenaries were fighting in Kashmir with tacit and open support of Pakistan and that they were receiving funds and arms from that country. European diplomatic circles instead of calling Mast Gul's escape scandalous for Indian security forces considered it India's political victory. UN Human Rights Commission was meeting in Geneva at that point of time. According to political pundits assembled there, "Indian political and military leadership deliberately allowed Mast Gul and his accomplices to escape because they knew very

well that he was a Pakistani national and that on his return, Jamaat-e-Islami workers and emotional Pakistanis would accord him tumultuous reception in order to raise more funds and inject another dose of euphoria into the mind of unsuspecting masses. This chain of events would reinforce India's contention that Pakistan was fully supporting and assisting terrorists. Precisely the same thing happened. Pakistani newspapers and tabloid press splashed across the front pages coloured and magnified pictures of Jamaat-e-Islami's reception to Mast Gul and company. His speeches were published in bold head lines. All this energised Indian postulation. The story of Mast Gul's Quixotic adventures appearing in Pakistani newspapers was widely disseminated among foreign missions and international political circles. In POK and Pakistan, emotionally surcharged people called Mast Gul's escape from the Indian security net as his heroism and India's debacle.

It is worth noting that in 1990 - 1991, when Kashmiri militants were crossing the border, anything between 40 to 60 of them would get martyred every day at the hands of Indian security forces. At a place called Chakothi (on the line of actual control along old Jhelum Valley Road) there is such a large concentration of troops on both sides of the border that not a bird can beat its wing. How come Mast Gul and his accomplices could cross over at that very point and without anything untoward happening to him? Sections of sensible Pakistani political commentators scorned Mast Gul fever; they also criticised Jamaat-e-Islami's stance on Mast Gul affair. Interestingly, Sardar Qayyum Khan expressed his total disapproval of reception rallies and demonstration of arms asserting that it was tantamount to inflicting inadvertant damage on the freedom movement.

A very important question arises here. People of Kashmir and their leadership shall have to substantiate the purpose they wish to serve by making armed foreigners their "guest mujahids" and through them getting schools and bridges burnt and shrines captured by force of guns and then got desecrated. Will those people help our movement who, acting in the name of religious extremism, turned their own country Afghanistan into a vast ruin reducing its hospitals, schools and mosques to rubble? Will they not, in the wake of what they did with their own country, push Kashmir to mediaeval ages and abandon her to regressive and retrograde forces? If Kashmiri masses and Kashmiri leadership do not discourage inclusion of armed Afghans and Pakistanis in their struggle, then a day will come when they will have to pay a heavy price for this Himalayan blunder. The practical example of Afghanistan should not be lost sight of.



Hashim Qureshi - 1998 in Amsterdam



Hashim Qureshi with his Family



CC-O. Agamniyam Digital Preservation
Hashim Qureshi with Azam Inqilabi, Bashir Qureshi, Shoukat Durrani and Others

Kidnapping of foreign tourists

From the very beginning I strongly protested against kidnappings in the course of armed struggle in Kashmir. I had sensed the adverse and far-reaching effects which Dr. Rubiya Saeed's kidnapping could have on the struggle in Kashmir. That was the reason for me to condemn it. No religion, no ethical code, no law and no precedent allows kidnapping of innocent and defenceless people in a state of war. It is also forbidden under Geneva Convention for dos and do nots in a war. It is the act of kidnapping which has labelled our struggle as terrorism. After making the party accept conditions which are invariably of the nature of personal aggrandisement, emotive and euphoric "heroes" make the kidnapping of innocent people their profession. This ultimately brings defamation to the liberation movement besides being blatant violation of human rights.

Rubiya Saeed's kidnapping opened the door of this vicious deed for others. It could not be stonewalled all these years. Some people and groups turned their back on lofty objectives and resorted to acts of kidnapping in order to either liberate their fellow-comrades or win cheap publicity. Apart from this, some individuals and office-bearers of some organisations made it an easy way of making money. In doing so, they sowed such a poisonous seed for the activists of Kashmir movement and for our future generations as may have to be reaped by them. An irrefutable and incontrovertible proof that our movement had become a terrorist movement, was provided by the kidnapping of Vice Chancellor Mushirul Huq, his secretary Abdul Ghani and the HMT manager Khera. The announcement of Amanullah Khan from New York that the kidnapped persons be finished became the most potent and the most eloquent proof of our terrorism. I had asked Altaf Qureshi, a cousin of mine who was later on martyred, why the JK Student's Liberation Front killed Mushirul Huq. He said, "we took cue from Amanullah Khan's statement from the USA that 'by now Mushirul Huq may have been killed' and shot him dead. In short, many people have been kidnapped. In some cases a bargain was struck and in other cases, the helpless victims were done to death. On local level, people began to be kidnapped for extracting money or for settling personal scores. Nobody could keep proper record of kidnappings made for petty differences or for not responding to a gun-wielding person's orders.

Sometime back, I happened to meet a respectable businessman in Singapore who told me his story. He said, "one day I was dragged out from my office and beaten up on the road. My assailants wanted to extract money from me. At the same time a bearded elderly man was also brought to this spot. It was the month of fasting (Ramadhan) and the

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hour was that of indignity of fast. The elderly man made entreaties and wept bitterly before the gun-wielding fellow. At last the fellow told him to clean his shoes with his beard. In order to save his life, the elderly man cleaned the shoes as ordered in front of many people." Such incidents should have been investigated into so that people would not have changed their mood vis-a-vis militants. The person who recounted this incident is physically present before me. He himself has been a victim of oppression. When such incidents occurring to a respectable person in Kashmir were not stopped by the leadership, the gun-wielding ruffians became tyrannical. Persons like Maulana Masoodi, Qazi Nisar, Mohammad Shaban Vakil, Molvi Muhammad Farooq, Ghulam Mustafa, Malik Maqbool and scores of other intellectuals and scholars were gunned down for no sin whatsoever. Even the tourists did not escape their wrath.

Some tourists had been kidnapped earlier. But more recently five foreign tourists were kidnapped. Among them were two British, one American, one German and one Norwegian. The kidnappers disclosed the name of their organisation as Al-Faran. They demanded that their 21 fellow militants languishing in Indian prisons be released. Among the arrested persons were Azhar Masood of Harakatu'l-Ansar, Sajjad Akhtar and Abu Jindal. Others were pro-Pak accessionists or belonged to religious groups. Indian authorities have till date refused to concede the demand of the kidnappers. In Kashmir, all militant groups and All Party Hurriyat Conference condemned the kidnapping of the tourists and made appeals to Al Faran to set them free. A sixth hostage who had managed to escape, had said that the kidnappers speak Pushto and Urdu. All appeals were turned down by the kidnappers. After having kidnapped the tourists, the kidnappers mentioned the name of a religious leader of Pakistan, Maulana Fazlu'r-Rahman, to hold talks for the release of 21 of their outfit against five foreign tourists. Maulana Fazlu'r-Rahman is also the Chairman of Foreign Relations Committee of Pakistani Parliament. In a press conference, he said that the kidnappers had informed him on telephone that they had nominated him their mediator. Immediately after the press conference of Maulana Fazlu'r-Rahman, British and American diplomatic officials in Pakistan made an appeal to the Maulana for cooperation and help whereupon the Maulana proceeded to New Delhi. The reason given by the Maulana for cancelling his publicised visit to Deoband was that he would be waiting in New Delhi for some message from the kidnappers or from the administration. But when the Indian authorities refused mediation (as claimed by the Maulana), he cut short his visit and returned to Lahore. Surprisingly, the Maulana told the press in Lahore that kidnappers had assured him of not killing any of the hostages as long as he was in Delhi. But then suddenly during the night of July 12 - 13, 1995, the kidnappers threw the beheaded body of the 27-

year-old Norwegian student, Hans Ostro, somewhere near Pahalgam. The severed head was thrown somewhere else. According to post-mortem report, the death of Hans was caused by severing his head from his body.

By their savagery the kidnappers proved that they were neither Kashmiris nor had they any sympathy with Kashmir cause nor did they know anything about the teachings of Islam. All the kidnapped tourists were not only innocent but were also the guests of Kashmiris. Kidnapping and killing an innocent guest in a barbaric manner is, in no case, permissible by morality, law and above all by Islam. According to the Holy Qur'an, the murder of an innocent person is the murder of humanity and above all of humanism. God Almighty has not condoned murder. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) has repeatedly commanded that aged and handicapped persons, women, children and men without arms should not be killed.

Hans Ostro's brutal killing has projected all Kashmiris as barbarians in the eyes of the whole world. A storm has blown all over the world by this dark deed of ours. The tiny ray of hope which the diplomatic circles think was there was in the shape of condemnation of the act coming from various organisations in Kashmir. APHC even gave a call for general strike on July 16, 1995 so that it would distance itself from the kidnapping and murder.

One wishes that the Kashmiri political leadership and organisations had, from the very beginning, united all people as it did on July 16 against anti-human acts like kidnapping, murder, arson, fratricide, hurling of grenades in crowded bazaars killing and wounding innocent men, use of arms in the lanes and by-lanes of the city, looting and burning of the houses of Pandits, not allowing the exiled persons to return home and many other acts of vandalism. One wishes they had galvanized people into resisting these dark deeds. Had that been done, today our movement would not have become helpless nor would it have been called a terrorist movement instigated by Pakistan. The entire movement would have been subjected to political control. Nor would have been our innumerable young people, the apple of their mothers' eyes, snatched from us. Innocent people, small children and women would not have been killed or wounded as a result of group clashes. Journalists would not have been intimidated for not publishing news according to the choice of the extremists. They would not have been subjected to attacks, nor kidnapped nor shot at. One more aberration is that all those happenings that are beyond our control are labelled as Indian conspiracy. This is not realpolitic. Kashmir's true leadership and organisations would do well not

to succumb to Indian or Pakistani propaganda and start speaking their language.

Barbaric murder for selfish ends

Reaction of Indian and Pakistani rulers, bureaucracy and intelligence agencies to the kidnapping and killing of innocent student can at best be called a 'tamasha' on a dead body. On both sides, attempt is made to bring the blame of innocent killing to the doorsteps of the other. In this propaganda campaign even the prime ministers of both the countries have put their share. In the exercise of trading accusations Pakistan states: (i) by engineering the crime, India tries to defame the Kashmir movement throughout the world and label it as terrorism (ii) nobody has heard of Al Faran and that it is India's own creation (iii) why is this group in contact with Indian officials only (iv) it is a conspiracy against Pakistan hatched at a time when Pressler Amendment is being brought up for discussion at the American Senate (v) kidnappers are in touch with Indian authorities. Is it not possible to locate the kidnappers and obtain release of the hostages. (vi) India is making the kidnapping an excuse to initiate a limited war with Pakistan.

The arguments advanced by the Indian authorities in support of their contention that Pakistan is involved in the kidnapping are (i) by the act of kidnapping and murder, Pakistan wants to highlight the Kashmir problem in order to mount foreign pressure on her to resolve the tangle. Furthermore, by jeopardizing Kashmir's tourist industry, Pakistan wants to serve a blow to Kashmir's economy so that the people are left with no option but to fight the Indians with their back to the wall (ii) establishing contact by the kidnappers with the chairman of Pakistan Parliament's foreign relations committee, Maulana Fazlu'r-Rahman and naming him as a mediator (which he disclosed in a press conference) is sufficient proof of Pakistan's involvement in the affair (iii) killing a tourist of a small country and not of UK or USA was to escape the negative reaction by the big powers against itself. Had it been the Indian conspiracy, then the victim would have been either the Brittan or the American tourist so that there would be a widespread reaction against large number of Pakistanis and POK people living in these two countries. (iv) Pakistan wanted to strike fear in people so that they do not take part in proposed elections. By spreading fear she wanted to hold back those who had shown their inclination for a dialogue with the government (v) if we had hatched the conspiracy, then Scotland Yard, CIA and the officials of the State Department would not have been a party to talks with the hostage takers and also in the matter of setting them free. British, German and

American officials participated in all matters pertaining to hostage-taking in Srinagar.

Diplomatic circles mock at the propaganda spree and sadistic attitude on both sides. People acquainted with politics, governance and intelligence exercises and also those keeping close track of things in the fast changing world know that secret services of none of the Third World countries can muster courage to kidnap a western tourist anywhere for the realisation of its particular objectives even if that objective is lofty or extraordinarily important. The secret of kidnapping and killing tourists can never elude super powers. No country is so foolish as to hazard an adventure that may end up in declaring it a terrorist state and the wrecking of its economy. Therefore those who are acquainted with the subtleties of politics, good governance and the use of state power, would naturally reject the stand of either country. In Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia, religious extremists have been kidnapping and murdering tourists. Al Faran group involved in similar acts in Kashmir is also one such international terrorist group involved in the kidnapping and killing in Kashmir. Their action is in fact their individual action as they want the release of their men who are the activists of Harakatu'l-Ansar and Hizbu'l-Mujahideen. Such people cannot be Kashmiris. True, in the past some Kashmiri groups have also resorted to acts of kidnapping in order to seek the release of their companions but those whose release was sought were only Kashmiris. In the Al Faran case, release of foreign terrorists is demanded. For these kidnappers individual interests are more important than the freedom movement and the rights of the people.

The Times, London, published in its issue of August 23, 1995 a report filed by its correspondent Christopher Thomas from Srinagar. It said, "with minutes to spare, the White House woke Benazir Bhutto, the Pakistani Prime Minister, in the middle of the night three days ago with an appeal to intervene personally to save the lives of four western hostages who were about to be killed by Kashmiri Muslim extremists. The move apparently successful, came after India told Britain, Germany and America that its intelligence agencies had intercepted a radio message from somewhere in Pakistan in which the order was given to kill hostages. A crisis meeting was immediately summoned in Srinagar between western diplomats and top-level Indian security officials while the White House made its unprecedented intervention, backed by Britain and Germany. Soon afterwards a second message was sent to Al Faran, the group holding the men, rescinding the murder order."

If this report is to be accepted as true, still it cannot be deduced that Pakistani official organisations are involved in the kidnapping and

murder. It is possible that on the basis of ideology and religion, the first contact made with Maulana Fazlu'r-Rahman might have put the kidnapped persons into contact with the planners of kidnapping. It can also be possible that somebody within the Pakistani organisations might have, on individual level, helped the kidnappers in border crossing and related matters. By all indications, it appears to be the individual case of the kidnappers. In the past such incidents have taken place in Pakistan.

Frankenstein

The fact of the matter is that instead of indulging in the game of one-upmanship, both the governments should have cooperated to stamp out the religious extremism from the sub-continent and also resolved outstanding matters through peaceful negotiations. Past history has shown that the countries or organisations that abet and support extremism of any kind, are, in final analysis, faced with their own Frankenstein.

In Pakistan many powerful and influential organs are now repenting their support to religious organisations during Afghan war. The *Jang*, London wrote in its issue of July 16, 1995, "Speaking at the workshop against drugs, organised in Lahore, Raja Saroop Khan, the Governor of Punjab, said that Afghan war had brought two "blessings" to Pakistan, heroin and Kalashnikov." (Comment: Do the Pakistanis want to pass on these blessings to Kashmir through their mercenaries operating there?)

MQM in Karachi has now been labelled as a terrorist organisation and ISI and General Zia are held responsible for arming them. Influential circles in Pakistan consider Sipah-e-Sahaba also a scourge although the responsibility of arming that organisation also rests with official circles in that country. This week, Sipah-e-Sahaba activists attacked and destroyed the office of BBC in Islamabad. Following the example of Pakistan, powerful Indian official circles gave monetary and material support to the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka. Then came the day when Indian army had to fight against the very LTTE who also became the instrument of murder of a polished politician and prime minister, namely Rajiv Gandhi. Bhindranwale was also the creation of New Delhi-based Aakali Dal opponents. India had not only to fight Bhindranwale but had also to enter the Holy temple in Amritsar and allow it to be desecrated. Thousands of Khalistani activists were killed in Punjab during ten-year old Sikh uprising. Sant Longowal, too, had to lay down his life in this turmoil. Punjab Chief Minister, Beant Singh has been killed along with 13 others in a car bomb.

In a press conference held on August 29, 1995, Benazir Bhutto repeated that the kidnapping of foreign tourists in Kashmir was an Indian plot so that the campaign of branding Pakistan as a terrorist state could be accelerated on international plane. She added that the Brown Amendment is likely to come up before the US Senate in the beginning of September and India might venture killing another tourist simultaneously. Do statements like this merit serious consideration? And if another tourist is actually killed in September, will not Benazir's statement become dependable evidence to tell the world that kidnappers had to kill another tourist only to prove her true. Who, then becomes the real killer of the tourist? There is no doubt that if India accedes to the demand of the kidnappers and sets free their people like Abu Jindal, Sajjad Afghani, Maulana Tahir and Azhar Masood, the freed men will go back to Pakistan as Mast Gul went because the headquarters of their groups are located in Pakistan. Al Faran, the group that secures their release will also pack up and go to Pakistan to ensure it remains secure or at the best proceeds to Afghanistan. In that case, how will Pakistan face the world, western countries and the people of Norway?

Proposed Kashmir elections

For two years in the past, Indian politicians and administration has been speaking of holding elections in Kashmir. Proposed elections had to be deferred owing to the happenings in Dargah Hazratbal. After some time, the matter came up once again but only to be scuttled as a result of Chrar-e-Sharif incident. Kashmiris feel betrayed when no proper and impartial enquiry into the incident is ordered. Kidnapping of five foreign tourists and beheading of one of them has brought more complications to political atmosphere and has increased the difficulties of the people. From all these developments, only one thing can be safely deduced viz. there are external forces who do not want Kashmiris to be independent and decide their own fate themselves.

Pakistan considers Kashmir a question of her life and death. A high level Kashmir Commtee has been constituted in that country. According to sources in Pakistan, nearly four million dollars, (12 crore rupees), are spent by Pakistan on Kashmir each month. (It is a different story that out of this amount 90 per cent is invariably misappropriated which is encouraging for the Indians). The prime minister of Pakistan speaks about assistance to Kashmiris. In a scenario in which the entire Pakistani nation has been made a hostage to Kashmir issue, how can we think that Pakistan and militants in Kashmir would like the election process to be initiated in Kashmir.

Three parties

I cannot understand why Indian authorities and bureaucracy are avoiding tripartite talks on Kashmir. They do make offer of unconditional talks with Kashmir leadership. At the same time they express their readiness to talk with their Pakistani counterparts in accordance with Simla Agreement. Does it not mean that Indian authorities indirectly accept that Kashmiris as well as Pakistan are parties to the Kashmir issue? Pakistani authorities, too, have not as yet come out in open support for tripartite talks on Kashmir. All they say is that APHC can also join the talks. But Hurriyat is a union of some parties in Kashmir only and that too incomplete one. Jammu and Ladakh are not represented in it. Indians would do well to realise that Pakistan is a party to the issue. Pakistan army and administration have their jurisdiction over Azad Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan which are the areas of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Supporters of independent Kashmir want to see all the five regions of the state liberated from the control of both the countries. That is the reason why people consider Pakistan an important partner in the dispute and not because Pakistan has grabbed the Northern Areas and Azad Kashmir.

Eventually the people of Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir valley regions will, in a prospect of tripartite talks, hold talks with India and those in Gilgit, Baltistan and Azad Kashmir will speak with Pakistanis. The talks will focus on the question of self-determination of each region. But the simple logic is that unless people on two sides of the line of actual control meet, the talks cannot progress. The tangle cannot be resolved either by war or by militancy. The issue is to be resolved in the spirit of Israel - Palestine or Great Britain - Ireland conflict resolution process. The three parties can as well enter into secret negotiations in the first stage. They can agree on holding elections on both sides of Kashmir under the supervision of an impartial authority. This would provide a representative body for the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir which could then be called the real representative delegation of Kashmiris in the ensuing tripartite talks.

(Amsterdam 01.09. 1995)

Chapter 11

HOW LONG THE BUSINESS OVER DEAD BODIES OF KASHMIRI YOUTH?

Since the outbreak of armed struggle in Kashmir Valley, the Kashmiri youth and innocent civilians are being killed, arrested, tortured, and jailed while plenty of Pakistan and so-called Azad Kashmir-based organizations and individuals, both in Pakistan and abroad are engaged in collecting crores of rupees as donation, in the name of Kashmiris, in the offices, roads, buses, mosques and other public places. Till now, there is no authentic information from any part of Kashmir, whether anyone has distributed even 10% of the collected funds among the victims or oppressed people of Kashmir.

However, some groups and organizations give a little part of the fund raised to certain leaders to please them for seeking their blessings for further collection of donations. But in Pakistan and so-called Azad Kashmir, it is being propagated that they are providing help and relief to orphans, widows, and families of the martyrs in Indian held Kashmir.

These organizations are making highly impressive claims regarding their relief efforts in an effort to raise more money from well-intentioned donors. The organizations which collect donation are giving fake advertisements that they are running blood banks and sewing schools for the ladies in Kupwara, Doda, and Rajouri. They also claim to have provided blankets, oil, and other commodities of daily use to the victims of Charar-e-Sharif (over 1500 families). The *Daily Jang* (London) dated November 30, 1995 has also carried a big advertisement titled "Kashmir Appeal" elaborating eight projects of the detailed program chalked out under the name of "Muslim Hand" :

1) Nine Sewing Schools for the widows of the martyrs and needy women have been opened in Srinagar, Kupwara, Doda, and Muzaffarabad.

2) Two blood banks have been established to provide blood to injured persons in Rajouri and Kupwara.

3) Over 1500 affected families of Charar-e-Sharif have been provided food grains, blankets, oil, and other commodities of daily use. [Apart from this, the advertisement also carried the announcement regarding establishment of a dispensary and medical laboratory at Tatrikot. In this case, the Muslims of U.K. and Europe donated over 7 lakhs rupees for the people of Kashmir. At the end, 01159704490 Credit Card hot line number was given.

A number of other such organizations operating in UK, Europe, and America are making such false appeals. And the tragic reality on the ground in Kashmir is that no project is being funded by the so-called "relief organizations". When I contacted an eminent journalist in Srinagar in this regard, I came to know that there was no such project operating anywhere in Kashmir. Similarly, I contacted a journalist in Rajouri who also denied the presence of any blood bank and there is no knowledge of any provision of help to the victims of Charar-e-Sharif under the name of Muslim Hand. It is tragic that Daily "*Jang*" (London) dated July 16, 1995 even carried a picture of a truck. The caption says, "Muslim Hand" Britain has sent first consignment of relief material for the victims of Charar-e-Sharif incident. In this picture some relief material is being unloaded. If we see the picture carefully, it seems some place is in Azad Kashmir.

Unfortunately, this is just the tip of the iceberg. A conversation with one local journalist who has investigated into the corruption in the financial networks revealed the methods of deception that these fraudulent "relief organizations" use in order to deceive well-intentioned donors in UK and USA. This journalist describes an incident which happened in front of his very eyes while taking tea at a local restaurant in Srinagar. Apparently, a group of men visiting from UK got out of a car clad in suits, they were carrying a sign along the lines of "Kashmir Muslim Relief Dispensary". The group went into a local Medico shop (commercial medicine dispensary), held a brief conversation and paid a small sum to the owner of the shop. After which the men placed their newly painted sign in front of the shop's real sign and proceeded to pose for a few photographs next to the sign. The men then took down their

sign and drove off. The local journalist was surprised at the level of dishonesty displayed in broad daylight.

Moreover, it has become quite apparent that some APHC leaders have directly been involved in financial corruption and have directly benefitted from such dealings. APHC leaders who have been able to travel abroad are said to have used these trips to raise enormous sums which they say would be used for the Kashmiri people yet this money is only used for their personal use. APHC is said to have collected some 36 crore rupees from sympathetic donors throughout the world in the name of reconstruction of Charar-e-Sharif. Rampant corruption seems to have plagued the leadership of APHC.

There are many people in the world who are always ready to help the oppressed and poor but some selfish individuals are taking advantage in the name of Kashmiri blood. Likewise, the Kashmiri people are also being deceived in connection with the aid, like the politics. The same type of corruption can be seen in Pakistan and India. An attractive office has been opened in Satellite Town, Rawalpindi for aid to Kashmiris. Once, an advertisement was given by that office that "Mujahideen may contact, as they wanted to help the mujahideen particularly those coming from Indian held Kashmir". On contact by a few youth, coming from Indian held Kashmir, they were given "Receipt Books" with the instructions to visit door to door to collect donations. With this donation, a JKLF leader has converted his two room house into two five-room bungalows in Muzafarrabad. He has no personal income but owns two cars for his personal use. His two children are studying at Army School, Muree. This leader was attacked twice by the Kashmiri youth. His nephew was involved in stealing and selling the ammunition. In the same way, the Chief of "Militant Wing" of this party who was selling vegetables at an old bus stand in Muzafarabad now own a good house with the blessing of Amanullah Khan. He is working as a contractor now and is a millionaire. Amanullah Khan, himself, rented an air-conditioned bungalow at Murree Road. He also purchased a bungalow in Defence colony, Karachi for his children.

Apart from this, any potential activists of second or third class, coming from the Valley, are seen riding Pajero jeeps with mobile phones. They are living luxurious lives though the money collected in the name of Kashmir, while the common youth of Kashmir have been kept in camps in the name of Jihad, where they wait before being sent back without proper training or equipment to face heavily armed and well-trained Indian soldiers. They are being sent back and massacred like lambs at the slaughter houses.

The Govt. Of Pakistan had written a detailed letter of allegations to AJK President and his son for withdrawing 24 crore rupees from Zakat Fund. Sardar Attiq purchased a house for two crores in Britain. Motmar Islami issued 4000 visas for youth of refugees for Saudi Arabia and Kuwait but Sardar Attiq with the collaboration of recruiting agents sold them for crores. Huge sums collected in the name of Jihad in foreign countries, were used by Sardar Quyyum and his son for purchasing a petrol pump in Jeddah.

Jamaat-e-Islami which also has to fund its Hizbul Mujahadeen has been involved in the most complex financial corruption - collecting money from both ISI for militancy efforts and collecting money for so-called "relief" through its many front organizations, the two most prominent being in UK and USA. The Jamaat has shown no shame in its fraudulent financial dealings. The Jamaat runs the most highly effective fundraising campaign. Annually, in the USA and UK extravagant full-page advertisements are placed in magazines with large circulation amongst the Muslim communities there. These advertisements are published year round but are witnessed mostly during the Holy month of Ramadan. Some advertisements collect money Eid-ul Azha from Muslims who want help the needy in Kashmir. Needless, to say there are no such sacrificial animals going to Indian held Kashmir. When one Kashmiri enquired from a number of these "relief organizations" how money was made available for relief efforts in Indian held Kashmir, these organizations said they gave the money to "PRT".

"PRT" refers to the "Public Relief Trust" of Jamaat-e Islami. The PRT serves as the main conduit for funding of Jamaat and there is no telling where and how this money collected in the name of "Kashmir Relief" is spent. But this money is spent can be from the life-styles of some of the Jamaat leaders and Hizbul Mujahadeen leaders. The infamous "Salahudin" fled Indian held Kashmir when Indian military pressure Hizbul Mujahideen - only when Hizbul Mujahideen had effectively wiped out the JKLF and other groups fighting against occupation. He now lives in Muzufarabad and enjoys a safe and comfortable lifestyle. Geelani Sahib himself is said to have collected 10 crore in the name of relief for Charar-e-Sharif. Many Jamaat leaders live luxuriously while the young people in HM continue to be "fed to the lion".

It is precisely the blood of these poor youth who are the source of the Jamaat and others to collect huge sums for personal use. The Jamaat runs an office in Saudi Arabia and collects money from Muslims who come for pilgrimage.

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At this office a picture of Shaheed Ishfaq Majid Wani was seen framed on a wall with the label "Rookni-e-Jamaat" (Jamaat member). It was the Jamaat that wrote in a press release after Ishfaq's death that he was not a Shaheed and "JKLF's Qibla faces towards Moscow not Mecca". But the Jamaat did not hesitate to use his picture to raise money. False pictures and false projects are all part of their elaborate advertisement for fundraising efforts.

One of the most bizarre aspects of this corruption is that in Srinagar a number of these leaders have built huge mansions in Srinagar - the heart of the battle field. While the fraudulent relief organizations present the facts of how many homes have been destroyed in Kashmir, the leaders who receive fair-share of the proceeds have built multiple houses in Srinagar of a very luxurious nature. And their counterparts, have done the same in Pakistan. It is now usual to hear about some leader who has no income having houses worth value of 65 lakh. One such leaders has built a huge mansion in Srinagar whose house stands out as a brand new beautiful bungalow surrounded by simple homes that have been burnt down and razed to the ground because of military operations and clashes. Some other leaders have even bought luxurious flats in New Delhi and have rented these out as a source of income- a very strange investment for a group of leaders who claim they seek to bring about the freedom of J&K from New Delhi!

A part from this, Ayub Thakur has set up an office in England in the name of Kashmir. "Annexation with Pakistan" literature is published from this office. Thakur also contacts British writers and gets books published by providing them reports from Pakistani broadcasting and secret agencies. People says, "that he has also purchased two/three houses in the expensive London real estate market." Once, in 1993, I asked this man about his source of income. In reply, he told that there were two Kashmiri doctors in USA who send him three lakh dollars annually as donation. When I wanted to know their names and addresses, he quickly became nervous and tried to avoid the subject. I questioned because every knowledgeable person knows very well that Kashmiri doctors in America and Europe are not in a position to donate such heavy amounts. Above doctors story was also confirmed by one Kashmiri who lives in UK. "It has become second-hand knowledge that Thakur is salaried by Pakistan's intelligence," but it has also come to light on some discussion forums," that Thakur's as well as some other organizations have served as conduits for money used for the personal benefit of certain leaders." Recently, an elaborate scandal in this regards has been exposed in Kashmir.

The Kashmir Muslim Trust in Kashmir has been found to be a conduit for the Jamaat leaders share of the money raised from "PRT" persons like Thakur and ISI. Three people, Abdul Gaffar Sofi, Hillal Ahmad Shah, and Mohammad Shafi Mir have been arrested in this most recently exposed corruption scandal. The full details of this fresh corruption scandal were published in the 'Greater Kashmir' 'Excelsior' etc. on December 24 1997. The arrested have allegedly confessed that they were getting money through Mr Thakur and Fai in the name of Kashmir relief; which actually ended up in the pocket of a Ghulam Mohammad Khan, the divisional commander of HM for north Kashmir. What is more important, is that money collected in the name of Kashmir, first "taxed" by the international middleman like Thakur, then "taxed" by the local middleman and then finally sent for militancy operations of HM only ended up in the personal use of HM commander. Thus, in this particular scandal, not a single penny was against Indian occupation. According to the Kashmiri media reports they uncovered just one transaction of 1.72 crores as yet in this freshly uncovered scandal, which the newspapers say is just a tip of the ice-berg. The surface of the financial networks has barely been touched, but it has become tragically clear that many people involved in the Kashmir struggle have betrayed the people of Kashmir and have collected money to finance their lifestyles. And for that these people have sold Kashmiri blood very cheaply. We may never know the exact amounts, how many middleman have been there and how many houses have been built, but one thing is sure - rampant corruption has been found to exist amongst the leaders of APHC, Jamaat Islami, and other groups/individuals.

Allegations of corruption have been there ever since Kashmiri people started noticing the changed lifestyles of leaders and professional activists in Srinagar, "Azad Kashmir" (POK), UK and USA. While the last 9 years have been years of misery to the masses, these few people have benefitted heavily from the business they have setup in the name of Kashmir blood. As the common people learned about the corruption, disenchantment has increased. And those who have had a hand in this financial corruption are responsible for this. Whereas, knowledge of the corruption was only known to a few of us who were painfully witnessing Kashmiri blood being sold cheaply, now this has all become common place knowledge. The common people know each and everything about these leaders - they have seen their mansions built during these nine years. In April 1997, the Shoura-e-Jehad, or Council of the five main militant organizations in Kashmir, came out with an announcement in response to public opinion. The Shoura-e-Jehad suspects that high profile Hurriyat leaders have misappropriated money meant for the movement. The luxurious lifestyles of several Hurriyat leaders have not gone unnoticed

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by the militants, who today realize that while they are risking their lives, the overground leadership is living an easy life with wealth, publicity, travel and enjoying security cover provided by the Jammu and Kashmir government. The State government has been spending over Rs.2.70 lakh every month on the security arrangements of three prominent leaders of APHC. The fact that Shour-e-Jehad has demanded accountability further underscores the need for help accountability leadership's.

It is a sad fact that lakhs of Kashmiri families have faced destruction while a few families are playing in millions after cost. At the same time nothing is being done to provide relief to those Kashmiri who are in real need for assistance. There are such mothers in Kashmir who can not see their sons in jails due to lack of busfare and other expenses. It is with an intention to provide some assistance while displaying honest and transparent financial handling that JKDLP has established the 'MNWA' trust. Aid has been provided to amputees. Initially, three handicraft schools were opened for women. In Trigam and Handwara, sewing machines were distributed among widows. It has modestly functioned to do honestly whatever it could. It has a plan for construction of a school, dispensary, and orphanage in Srinagar - land has already been acquired for this purpose. We wish to maintain a completely honest procedure without any chance of corruption. For this reason, we do not accept donations by hand. We have opened an account in J & K bank and have appealed that donations be sent directly to the account. We have documented how exactly money is spent. More efforts should be made to bring up honest and effective relief organizations in Kashmir. Some of the leaders accused of corruption have come out vehemently against 'MNWA' because they stand to loose their corrupt income. Organizations like 'MNWA' give a credible option for sympathetic human beings to provide real relief to the Kashmiris in need of assistance and will prove deadly for organizations and leaders who have earned/collected donations and misused it.

Kashmiri people are living under the fear of Gun and they are innocent as they have not held accountability of those who while launching the armed struggle had misled the Kashmiris that Pakistan would attack on Kashmir within three to six months. Kashmiris also did not ask those who sent their sons across the border in the name of 'Jehad' and who have not returned so far. Kashmiris also do not ask those who give calls of strike in Kashmir and ruined the entire economy of Kashmir. Kashmiris also do not raise questions about killing of innocents, kidnapping of girls, and their molestation. Kashmiris are so "frightened" that they observe strike on the call of Hizb-Ul-Mujahideen one day while they also take part in the strike call by other outfit against Hizb-Ul-

Mujahideen next day. Above all, it is a "good habit" of Kashmiris that they also kill innocent people walking on the road, when they involve in group clashes. After doing all this, in order to escape, they would hold Indian agents responsible. The leaders would also get salvation from the accountability by their respective organisations and the people are habitual of forgetting the things. They do not listen to the statements of different leaders and organisations made from time to time. A prominent leader remained in Congress and worked as minister. Later he joined Janta Party and took oath of allegiance to India but he stood by the Kashmiris, when the later came on the roads for freedom, and during his visit to England and Europe, when he got his medical treatment courtesy Pakistani money, then in excitement just to please his masters (Pakistanis) he described all those "Kashmiris as traitors who support independence for Kashmir". Because Nawabzada Nasserullah Khan, Benazir Bhutto, Assif Ahmed Khan and Jamaat-e-Islaami also describe the Kashmiris as Indian agents who consider Kashmir one unit and support independence. Besides this, Amanullah Khan and his puppets also describe Yasin Malik, Javed Mir and other as Indian agents. Four years ago, I had written a detailed letter to Javed Mir that they would certainly level allegations against him as they had levelled against senior JKLF leaders. But my words were ignored by these youths and today my words have been proved true. This article was written to apprise the Kashmir nation about the black deeds of those who collect donations in the name of widows, orphans, jailed youths who are facing torture in torture cells.

Two years back, 17 people were killed and 140 others injured in a powerful bomb blast in the Egyptian Embassy. According to Pakistan broadcasting sources, people of Pakistan expressed strong reaction against the blast. Ex-Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto clearly announced that some religious institutions were involved in it and she had confirmed information that religious institutions and Madrassas are were training of arms and ammunition to students for creating law and order problem for the government. In the same way, ex-Foreign Minister Sardar Assef Ahmed Ali described this blast as anti-Islamic and inhuman act.

On the other hand, neither Benazir Bhutto nor Assef Ahmed Ali had given any statement about the car bomb blast carried by Hizb-Ul-Mujahideen in Lal Chowk, Srinagar in which Altaf Mahajan's niece and four other children were killed and one niece became blind on Sept.4,1995. Surely, the bombs, used for destroying bridges, schools and colleges in Srinagar are provided to religious groups by Benazir Bhutto and Sardar Assef Ahmed Ali, having read, "Kalma and Allah-O-Akbar". It may be remembered that MQM ghost created by late Gen. Zia-Ul-Haq

now has created troubles for whole of Pakistan. And the Kashmir ghost created by Gen. Zia-Ul-Haq, you and Nawaz Sharif Government with the collaboration of ISI in shape of Egyptian, Afghani religious groups and fundamentalists of Arab countries, has now taken a dangerous dimension, and the ghost after coming out of the bottle, will provide a disaster for Pakistanis and Pakistan based foreign ambassadors and guests. The Indian democracy also did not do justice with Altaf Mahajan. After the bomb blast by Hizb-Ul-Mujahideen, " the Indian democracy handed over the dead body of his arrested nephew as gift ".

Indian politicians, making hue and cry of non-violence in the name of Gandhiji, have forgotten that love was the religion of Gandhiji. Peace can not be established by killing youths in custody. It will only add fuel to the fire of revenge and hatred which increases violence.

Two years ago, some people were injured in an explosion in New Delhi. Kashmir Islamic Front had owned the responsibility. It may be recalled that the same news also appeared in *Jang* (London). All the Kashmiri groups should know very well that the entire world is against the bomb explosions and such explosions would cause loss to the struggle of Kashmiris and due to such explosions in India, the people of India would never favour Kashmir movement. On the contrary, the Kashmiris doing business in India would be considered suspects and over 16000 Kashmiris students getting education in different Universities of India would be treated as terrorists. So no Kashmiri should encourage such explosions because the business of over 6 lakh Kashmiris in Delhi would come to stillstand. The explosions are against Kashmir Cause. Apart from this, an office of Hurriyat Conference has also been opened in Delhi for apprising the Indian people of the real situation in Kashmir.

**December, 1995,
Re-Written in January 1998**

Chapter 12

KASHMIR FREEDOM: IN WHICH SHAPE?

Nationalism is the philosophy of a nation's identity. If nationalism does not become a cause for hatred against other nations, then it is an indicator of a nation's progress and prosperity. People of all hues and description are accommodated within this identity and every member is proud of his or her nationality. However, the pre-requisites for its proper growth are that nationalism is not exploited and instead of hating other nations, these are meted out equitable treatment. Deviation from this principle means taking the direction of fascism which gives rise to Hitlers and Mussolinis. In today's world, nationalism leads to national development and fraternal relations whereas its death is caused by religious extremism.

In the Indo-Pak sub-continent, Egypt, Algeria and Afghanistan, religious extremism has not only made the life a virtual hell but the peace and progress of the entire world has been taken a hostage. Bomb blasts are caused on roads and in buildings, innocent people are killed and fear is struck. This is also true of the Valley of Kashmir where national liberation struggle has been taken a hostage by religious extremism. The on-going struggle in Kashmir, it is feared, may sound a death knell to Kashmir's nationalism, her secular tradition and image and finally to her tradition of Sufism and religious tolerance. If this struggle takes the shape of religious extremism instead of a true national struggle, what would be the consequences. What shape will it give to the solution to Kashmir tangle? In what shape will the geography of the sub-continent and Kashmir come up? These questions necessitate proper assessment of international situation and also the conditions prevailing in the sub-continent and within Kashmir.

Geopolitics

In 1947, the State of Jammu and Kashmir comprised an area of 222,263 square miles. Today 101,387 square miles are in India's control and the rest 120,649 square miles are with Pakistan and China. The territory in Pakistan's control is further divided into two parts; Northern Areas comprise Gilgit and Baltistan which is under the administrative control of Islamabad. The population in this area comprises Sunnis, Shias, Ismailis, Noorbakhshis and other communities who are identified as Shin and Oshkin. In 1947, the people of Gilgit and Baltistan rose in revolt against Maharaja Hari Singh and invited Pakistan to take control of the area. For next 25 years, Pakistan administered the area under the black laws like F.C.R. Administration was run through a resident as was the system during the British rule. Later on the nomenclature was changed to Commissioner. The Azad Kashmir High Court, in a historic decision, decreed that Northern Areas were not a part of Pakistan but of Kashmir and that the control of Gilgit and Baltistan be immediately handed over to Azad Kashmir. Pakistan managed to obtain a verdict from the Supreme Court of Azad Kashmir on some technical basis.

The other part of Pakistan controlled territory comprises only 2,000 square miles and is called Azad Kashmir with six districts of Muzaffarabad, Kotli, Mirpur, Bhimber, Bagh and Poonch. Poonch and Bagh comprised only one district in earlier days but since Sardar Qayyum Khan hails from Dhirkot in Bagh, he exercised his hegemony and divided Poonch into two districts. Azad Kashmir, which in reality should be called Pakistani held Kashmir is also a conglomerate of different castes, fraternities, tribes and linguistic denominations. There are hardly any means of production or industry which would ensure a healthy transformation of economic condition of the people. The people of this area generally emigrate to Europe and the Middle East where they put in hard work to earn a living and support their families back home. It is estimated that their remittances in the shape of foreign exchange to Pakistan are to the tune of a thousand million dollars per year.

Structure in Azad Kashmir

As far as the people of Gilgit and Baltistan are concerned, it is a fact that they do not want to align themselves with Kashmir. Two movements are afoot there; one supports making Gilgit and Baltistan the fifth province of Pakistan and thus win representation in national assembly and the senate. The other movement, still in early stages, is that of carving Baloristan as a new territorial entity comprising Gilgit, Baltistan and some parts of Chitral. The supporters of this movement only

occasionally align themselves to Kashmir. And that is because of the pressures of such Kashmiri speaking people from the valley as had come to these areas in 1942 as merchants and later on settled there. Since Gilgit and Baltistan did not take part in the national freedom struggle launched in Kashmir, therefore Pakistani rulers and its I.S.I selected Amanullah Khan from Gilgit to recruit youth from the valley and induct them into the armed struggle in Kashmir. Evidently one who has no base of his own, the agencies can detach him at any time from the struggle and render him toothless. This is precisely what the I.S.I did with Amanullah Khan.

In Azad Kashmir, people of different ideologies are to be found in different political parties. For the last fifty years, autocratic rule has prevailed depending on the good will of Islamabad. But when differences cropped up, the good will was lost and the person was deposed. This game was played with late Mir Waiz Maulavi Yusuf Shah, Sardar Qayyum Khan, Sardar Ibrahim Khan, K.H. Khurshid and Mumtaz Rathore. By and large, Muslim Conference has remained in power for the most part of the time in Azad Kashmir. Its slogan has been *Kashmir banega Pakistan* (Kashmir will become Pakistan). But when PPP came into existence, Sardar Ibrahim Khan separated from the Muslim Conference and formed PPP in AK. This party came to power twice and it floated the slogan "Make Azad Kashmir a province of Pakistan".

Nationalists

As far as nationalist are concerned, the younger generation in Azad Kashmir wants an independent Kashmir. Like us, they are also dreaming of an entire independent Kashmir as in 1947. Unfortunately owing to personal differences, nationalists are divided into several groups. By adopting wrong strategies, there are further divisions among them. Theirs is a strange philosophy. While living in Azad Kashmir, they are struggling for the freedom of Indian occupied Kashmir. However, National Students Federation, National Liberation Front, (led by Maqbool Butt's son Showkat Maqbool Butt) and Peoples National Party AK, and National Awami Party (NAP) do speak of liberating AK and Gilgit and Baltistan and actually they have also put in some effort. But intelligence agencies and pro-Pak accessionists accuse them of working for India. In the case of Jamaat-e-Islami, it never had a strong position in AK so as to win even a single seat in the assembly. But they do manage to organise rallies by orchestrating Islam and hate-India slogans and by alluding to armed struggle in Kashmir valley. These rallies are generally meant to collect funds and incite religious feelings in the minds of teenagers whom they eye for recruitment in the armed and file of Kashmir

militancy. Since the nationalists do not have an organised party and leadership, therefore, even the staunch nationalist could not continue his march along the path of real struggle. This was because either there was no proper organisation or that nationalist leadership sold itself to the intelligence agencies. Apart from this, those engaged in national liberation struggle were bogged down by problems of material survival which invariably forced them to migrate either to the Middle East, Europe or Pakistan.

Take the example of Liberation Front. As long as it worked with ISI and other organs of Pakistan, its members continued to receive training in camps, arms, ammunition, funds and publicity to the extent that in the context of Kashmir, Liberation Front became almost omnipresent. But when secret agencies took Hizbu'l-Mujahideen and some more organisations under its wings and strengthened them, Liberation Front found itself ditched. Through the instrumentality of Hizbu'l-Mujahideen, many capable and patriotic youth of Liberation Front were liquidated in Kashmir.

In these circumstances in Gilgit and Baltistan, PPP and the Shia group of Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariyya won in Council elections. It is believed that although the people there were not fully satisfied with the arrangement, yet in the light of freedom struggle in Kashmir, they were not prepared to join the peoples' struggle now going on in Kashmir valley. They considered themselves part of Pakistan, because Pakistan has separated them from Azad Kashmir (P.O.K) and has ruled them from Islamabad for last fifty years.

As far as Azad Kashmir (AK) is concerned, there is a large number of nationalists in that region. But despite that, the nationalists are not knit into an organised structure nor are they prepared to embark on anti-Pakistan uprising on a scale on which the people in the valley have risen against India. The main reason for this deficiency is that the activists in the valley receive substantial support from Pakistan and pro-Pak accessionists in AK. The nationalists in AK are not receiving help from any side. That is the reason why even well-known nationalists usually fight elections as independent candidates. Clan (*biradari*) and region are important factors in the social structure of AK. The nationalists must perforce take that into consideration. They cannot come out of these trappings. Therefore it is evident that somehow they have to rationalise their equations with two major political parties, namely Muslim Conference and AK Peoples Party. In other words, they, too, must allow themselves to be bogged down by sub-regional politics of Poonch, Mirpur, Kotli and Muzaffarabad segments plus the

biradari that dominates these. As students, these nationalists introduce themselves in the context of national freedom by delivering fiery speeches from the platform of National Students Federation. But in practical politics they cash their nationalist past in one of the two major parties namely Muslim Conference and PPP. In this group can be included leaders like Mumtaz Rathore, the former Prime Minister and Mian Bashir, a senior minister. These conditions are hardly conducive for the nationalist movement to aspire for a definite shape and structure. As already said, in elections they got bogged down in local and non-proliferating politics. In practice they have been only supporting one of the two major political parties namely Muslim Conference and PPP. Invariably elections in AK are won either by the Muslim Conference or PPP. It may, therefore, be inferred that the people in AK want the present status quo to continue. This status quo is based on the perception of Pakistan that Azad Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan are already with Pakistan, the part of Kashmir under Indian occupation has also got to go to her because Pakistan considers the whole of Kashmir as its property.

This stand of Pakistan, however, is not supported by any legal or moral justification. According to UN resolution, Pakistan must withdraw all her troops from all parts of Kashmir in the event of a plebiscite. Again with reference to UN perceptions, the accession document signed by the Maharaja of Kashmir (1947) makes India's position legally stronger in comparison to the claim of Pakistan because plebiscite has to be conducted with Indian army in reduced numbers continuing its presence in the state and the committee appointed by the UN supervising the conduct of plebiscite. Kashmiris and Pakistanis should be thankful to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who took Kashmir issue to the UNO. It has, therefore, to be seen what kind of freedom for Kashmiris is envisioned by the religious extremists of Pakistan, Azad Kashmir and Kashmir itself when they raise the loud cry of Islam.

On the basis of language, religion and culture, the State of Jammu and Kashmir comprises three regions. Ladakh has an area of 96,701 sq kilometres, Jammu has 26,293 sq kms comprising six districts of Udhampur, Doda, Kathua, Jammu, Rajouri and Poonch. The smallest region in terms of land mass is Kashmir valley with 15,853 sq kms as its area. Kashmir region comprises six districts namely Anantnag, Pulwama, Srinagar, Baramulla, Budgam and Kupwara. The three regions are inhabited by people of different ethnicities such as (on the basis of culture) Kashmiris, Dogars, Bakarwals, Dards, Balti, Ladakhi, Pushwari, etc. In terms of language and dialects, we have Kashmiri, Dogri, Gujri, Dardi, Balti, Punjabi etc. In Jammu, there are Dogra Hindus and in the rest except the valley of Kashmir, Muslims are in minority and thinly

dispersed throughout the regions. They are described as Gujjars, Bakarwals, Dards, Baltis, Shia, Poshwari etc. These denominations have always kept themselves politically away from Kashmiri speaking populace. The Bodhis and Muslims of Ladakh and the Dogras and Muslims of Jammu regions have always considered themselves separate from Kashmiri speaking Muslims and Pandits. Likewise Kashmiri speaking Muslims and Pandits, too, have considered themselves separate from others. To them Kashmir valley means Kashmiris, calling the rest as Gujjars, Paharis, Pohul etc. This was the reason why Kashmiri Pandits resented rehabilitation of non-Kashmiri speaking refugees in the valley in 1948-49 who had come from the present Azad Kashmir. Their argument was that owing to the rehabilitation of these non-Kashmiri refugees, there would be tremendous stress on the population of the valley which in turn might adversely affect local culture.

Secularism under stress

The tragedy of Kashmiri Pandits is that though they ardently love their motherland, yet they look more to India and, in the context of religion, consider themselves more secure with India. This was considered their crime though the Muslims who demand Pakistan are not considered traitors in the eyes of the champions of national liberation. It is to be noted that at the very outset of the on-going national liberation struggle in Kashmir when Liberation Front was the only organisation making armed struggle for attaining freedom, Kashmiri Pandits were forced to leave their place of origin. On individual level a Kashmiri Pandit might have done some excess or denied the right to others, but as a community they never harmed anybody. It was the Kashmiri Pandit who rose to the envious position of teacher (guru) and the Pandits brought the light of education to their Muslim compatriots in Kashmir. Strength of Kashmiri Pandit teachers in Islamia High School and College in Srinagar was 40 per cent. I developed taste in history because of my history teacher. Our science teacher also was a Pandit. The sports teacher, Nereh Butt (Narender Butt) took great pains in developing sports in our school to the extent that we always won the first position in the district. These teachers were secularists to the core. How sad that we have not been able to protect our culture of secular traditions; how unfortunate that we could not protect our teachers, our neighbours and our friends of Pandit community and their properties. This failure will be considered a tragedy for our nation by any stretch of imagination. For several centuries in the past, these Pandits had been living together with their Muslim neighbours in peace and amity. During the turmoil of 1947, Kashmiri Muslims came forward to protect them and their property and thus a

unique example of inter-community tolerance was demonstrated during a turbulent period of Kashmir history.

Today some Pandits are raising their voice for 'Panun Kashmir. They have a strong argument. They say that they have been driven out of their homes by terrorising them, by attacking their honour and by killing some of their members. Now they are living in sub-human conditions in refugee camps in Jammu and elsewhere. When told that they left their homes on the promptings of Governor Jagmohan. They say that nobody would leave comfortable homes and go in exile to unknown and inhospitable places to live in tents where life is virtual hell. Assuming that they left at the behest of Governor Jagmohan, but what has been the fate of those Pandits who stayed back in Kashmir. A dental surgeon and his wife, who were rendering service in Srinagar, were one day called by some unknown persons at their house and then gunned down at the doorstep. Rosy and her mother were raped and then shot dead including Rosy's father. The Pandits ask why have their houses and shops been looted and then burnt. They ask whether this is the treatment which Islam permits to be meted out to one's neighbours? Should not these developments be good enough to scare a community away? Is not there strong logic in their demand for a separate homeland? But demanding the separate home land on the basis of community or religion is also against the integrity and unity of the India, like jamaati-e-islami's stand on the Kashmir ?.

Regionalism

Since a long time, the people in Ladakh have been demanding that Ladakh be given the status of autonomous hill council and placed under central administration. During Dr. Farooq Abdulla's first stint, a strong movement for these objectives was launched in Ladakh. Likewise Jammuites are also demanding autonomy for their region. When people in the valley ask for Pakistan on the basis of religion without taking the people of other regions into confidence, all that will happen is that instead of strengthening national freedom movement, people of other regions and faiths in the state will begin to feel insecure and thus will ensue the process of parcelling the state into fragments. In what shape will Kashmir then emerge if the solution is desired to be found on the basis of the type of struggle we have launched? This is a big question looking directly into the eyes of Kashmiris. We the nationalists of Kashmir are baffled by the very question. The current atmosphere of communalism will turn Kashmir into another Bosnia fragmenting her into regions, districts, sub-districts and the rest of it.

Fragmentation of Kashmir

Pro-Pakistan groups and Pakistan want Kashmir to become a part of Pakistan. I need not emphasise the point that Pakistani rulers and majority of her politicians call pro-independence activists as traitors and Indian agents. They label independence of Kashmir as a conspiracy either by the Indians or the Americans. Evidently in the prospect of independent Kashmir, Pakistan will have to vacate Gilgit and Baltistan, a situation which does not go in the interests of Pakistan at all. Therefore, when the proposition of independent Kashmir was in circulation in western political circles and was also placed before Pakistan, she rejected it outrightly. Pakistan knows that in the event of independent Kashmir, her overland link with China via Gilgit along the Silk Route will be broken and her northern borders will shrink to Kotli Satyan, Kohala and Daena instead of Kahuta, Chakothi, Bhimber and Neelam valley. It will be barely 22 kilometers away from Kahuta atomic plant and will come close to Garhi Dupatta instead of Neelam Valley. The nationalists are trying to make Pakistanis understand that in a prospect of independent Kashmir, Kashmiris would like to live as their younger brothers, and that their military pressure would be pronounced on Indian border because they would be relieved from their concerns in Kashmir. But Pakistanis just laugh it away. Let me disclose here that in 1985, some Pakistani officials and ISI representatives met with our four-member delegation headed by me. In that meeting, we precisely adopted the same line of argument.

History has taught us that friendship among countries on the basis of religion cannot be lasting one. Economic interests and international alignments are major factors cementing friendship among nations. Relationship between India and Bangladesh on one hand and Pakistan and Afghanistan on the other could be identified as good examples. A close study shows that inner circles in Pakistan ruling clique and their policy planners want only the valley of Kashmir so that Pakistan would feel herself more secure with control over the sources of water and the Silk Route. They are ready to let Jammu and Ladakh regions remain with India. But in order to drag India to the negotiating table, they maintain pressure on Muslim dominated areas of Jammu namely Doda and Kishtwar through the instrumentality of armed militants. They do not mind recruiting Afghans, Pakistanis, Sudanese and others to conduct insurgency operations there.

Apart from this, occasional statements of Pakistani and Azad Kashmir political figures with regard to the proposition of division should also be taken note of. Dixon Plan also surfaces now and then. Some

voices have been raised suggesting that Jammu and Ladakh be given to India; Gilgit, Baltistan and Azad Kashmir to Pakistan and the valley of Kashmir be made independent. India does not seem to be in any mood of taking back Azad Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan. However in order to maintain pressure on Pakistan, the Indians use the lever of threatening that they would throw Pakistanis out of Azad Kashmir. They even get resolutions passed by the Indian parliament to this effect. In the same vein, Pakistan too, cannot wrest Kashmir from India's hands. But if in the background of on-going turmoil in Kashmir, Pakistan succeeds in prompting international policemen to offer themselves for resolution of Kashmir tangle, then fragmentation of Kashmir will be writ large on her balance sheet. In that scenario of division and sub-division, if, for example, the valley is given freedom, the question is what will the people of the valley do with it because it will have to be further divided to give the Pandits their homeland. Thus having turned Kashmir into another Bosnia, what would be the parameters of our economic viability and security? Shall we not be dependent on India and Pakistan for contacts with the rest of the world? Today, as we find it, Pakistan has rescinded the transit rights of Afghanistan although according to international law a landlocked country is to be provided access route to the international waters by her neighbours. Had not Pakistan to incur the enmity of Russia for the sake of Afghanistan?

What will be the economic strength of fragmented Kashmir? The economy of the valley cannot be run by tourist industry alone. Even there are some hard pre-requisites to make tourist industry economically viable. It asks for free atmosphere and acceptable political system. What will be the political system for a region with just thirty or thirty five lakh population divided into various religious and cultural denominations and varying perceptions? Isn't it that like Pakistan and Afghanistan, we get embroiled in large scale sectarian and factional feuds ready to lynch one another? (to be honest we are already doing that exercise). Then nothing can stop Pandits from getting their portion - Panun Kashmir - even if it is in the shape of concentrated localities. What is more, will it not usher in the dark and dangerous prospect in which the story of 1947 communal carnage of Jammu will be re-enacted? The large Muslim minority in various parts of Jammu region will, in the event of the danger of pogroms, migrate to the valley. Can Kashmir bear the burden and what will be its repercussions? Division of Kashmir on communal basis will, eventually, engulf the whole of India and its flames will consume millions of innocent people in the entire sub-continent. Assuming for a while that Pakistan succeeds in wresting the valley of Kashmir, even then the fate of Muslim minorities in the State will be only exodus from their homes and hearths. In such a situation nobody can guarantee the safety

of 180 million Muslims of India. One shudders on the mere thought of it. In the event of such an unprecedented carnage, people will yearn for another Gandhiji who had gone on strike unto death in order to stop the massacres in Calcutta. People will remember Waris Shah who, moved by the suffering of a daughter of Punjab, wrote his immortal poem. But alas, there is neither a second Waris Shah among us today nor did India produce another Gandhi.

Therefore patriotic Kashmiris, good Muslims and humanist sections in the sub-continent and in Asia should vehemently oppose division of Kashmir in the name of religion and community. In fact they should initiate resistance to such a move. This is the reason why we repeatedly say that reviving the 1947 position of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, free and fair elections should be held in both the parts and the duly elected representatives of Kashmir (both parts) be given an opportunity of talking to both India and Pakistan for a lasting resolution of Kashmir tangle. And a lasting solution will be one which is acceptable to the people in Kashmir, people of all faiths.

Disinformation

Let us admit frankly that we the masses of the valley have been made victims of propaganda of a golden dream by people with vested interests. We should try to dissect these golden dreams in the context of international and regional situation. Such international organisations as keep close watch on emerging situations anywhere in the world and are always ready to supervene, do not give an iota importance to Kashmir issue. They consider it a case of religious extremism and as cancerous as Afghanistan. During Benazir Bhutto's visit to the United States, President Clinton, while supporting elections (in Kashmir) had said: "..... of course the Indians now are talking about election. It will be interesting to see who is eligible to vote, what the conditions of the election are, whether it really is a free referendum on the peoples' will." But Benazir contended that her American visit was a success and consequently, distorted the statement of the American President. She said that the American President felt that the peoples' will in Kashmir could be ascertained only through free referendum. She eschewed reference to elections. It is amusing to note that invariably Indian and Pakistani bureaucrats and mandarins give their own interpretation to the statements and reports of foreign political leaders and organisations.

At a point of time in recent days, there ensued a spate of statements and counter-statements between the Indian Home Minister and the American embassy in New Delhi. The American ambassador met

Prime Minister and the Home Minister of India to tell them that American Assistant Secretary of State, Robin Raphel, had stated before the Congressional Committee for South Asia that plebiscite in Kashmir as stipulated in 48 - year old UN resolution was no more practicable. But, of course, a solution to Kashmir problem in changed circumstances would have to be found according to the wishes of the people. This solution can be found when both the countries include Kashmiris in their talks. The truth is that the Americans apprehend emergence of Afghanistan-like situation in Kashmir with rising crescendo of religious extremism, That could lead to eruption of large scale communal violence in the entire sub-continent. As already said, in the event of a plebiscite, Pakistan will have to withdraw all her troops from Gilgit, Balltistan and Azad Kashmir in accordance with the UN resolution. The results of a plebiscite cannot be conjured up by entertaining the wishes of Kashmir valley alone. And in the event of results not going the way Pakistan likes, Silk Route will go out of her hands. The Americans will use it as a lever to foster the policy of encirclement of China if the exigency of geopolitics demands it.

At the present moment, the US does not want to antagonise India. Her relations with Iran are already strained and Sino - American relations are too fragile to bear stress and strain of rapidly changing alignments in eco-strategic world. If China, India and Iran form a nexus, then the US shall have to bear herself in South Asia with utmost caution. Indo-US trade relations are widening and deepening day by day. Why should the US endanger such a vast market just for the sake of a tiny stretch of land called Kashmir. History stands witness to the reality that western powers always keep their economic and political interests ahead of every other consideration. These interests are protected by means fair or foul. When they needed the people of Afghanistan against Russia, they labelled all religious groups of Afghanistan as crusaders and provided them with enormous funds by way of assistance to carry out jihad. Not only that, through a media blitzkrieg they projected Afghan resistance as a decisive battle for protection of freedom and democracy throughout the world. But when their purpose was served, they have become silent spectators of the same Afghanistan drifting down the precipice of destruction and annihilation. Afghanistan turned into desolation and ruination, makes them beat not an eyelid. This is a living example of imperialist powers fomenting regional problems and instigating conflicts between the nations in order to exploit the people for their selfish interests. In order to maintain their stranglehold on Gulf oil and secure markets for the sale of oil and arms, they forged an alliance of western countries and of the Islamic world against Iraq. This spelled destruction for that country. But now feigning humanism, some human rights organisation and the UNO, the organ of the United Nations, create

loud noise that children, women and old people in Iraq are dying of hunger and that economic embargo imposed on Iraq be lifted. Those who had ganged up against Iraq in the war, including Islamic countries, have no qualms of conscience so that they might gang up to provide relief to the hungry and dying co-religionists of Iraq.

It has to be remembered that the US and Europe are gradually reaching their economic optimum. In order to maintain the present living standard of their peoples, they may have to take recourse to colonialism. Now a new area has been explored to perpetrate colonialism and that is the area of trade and marketing. Fomenting problems and complications of regional level is a crucial instrument in their hands to be used against the targetted countries. These instruments take various shapes: sometimes these appear in the guise of human rights violations or enticements for global trade and open market and at other times as renewed prescriptions for democratic dispensation. In this background, one can only wish that the poorer countries of Asia and Africa or elsewhere in the world, generate confidence to resolve their regional problems themselves.

Proposals

Under the auspices of Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, 'non-official talks have been held in New Delhi in recent past. This is a welcome step. In this non-official conclave were present two former finance ministers, former foreign minister and former chief justice of supreme court of Pakistan. From Indian side former foreign minister, American ambassador in India and many others participated. It should be remembered that the participating former Pakistan foreign minister Sahibzada Ya'qub Ali Khan has been considered close to the Americans and the Pakistan army while her former finance minister, Dr. Mahbubul-Huqq is popular among US ruling circles and the World Bank.

Three years ago I had written an article titled "Solution to Kashmir problem in the background of Palestine". My proposal was as this: [Both sides of Kashmir should be declared self-governing as in Palestine which would form the basis for its final resolution. The participating former finance minister of Pakistan, Mahbu'l-Huqq had proposed in this non-governmental conclave that self government be accepted for Kashmir like Gaza Strip and Jerico in Palestine.

I take pride in my six years of struggle which is the sum total of my thirty years of political journey. I take pride in myself for the reason that I did not become the instrument of destruction for my fellow

countrymen, my brothers ,my sisters and my neighbours in Kashmir. I strove to keep the on-going struggle in Kashmir on the track of national liberation movement. Through my writings, public meetings and interaction with people at large, I proposed peaceful solutions for the Kashmir problem. Today, many political figures and parties in India and Pakistan, people who matter in international fora and organisations committed to democratic ideology, are recalling those proposals.

However, it is a matter of regret that Sardar Qayyum Khan of Azad Kashmir severely condemned the statement issued by the non-government delegation which had participated in the conclave under Rajiv Gandhi Foundation. He called it playing in the hands of Indian secret agencies asserting that the suggestion of Gaza Strip type self-governance for Kashmir was tantamount to betrayal of the blood of martyrs in Kashmir. It is interesting to remind the readers that in the past, the same Sardar Qayyum Khan had expressed before Robin Raphel and Bhim Singh his agreement to the proposal of holding elections in Kashmir under the supervision of an impartial authority. This had also been stated by him in a press conference. These days Azad Kashmir is seized by election politics. Therefore, political stalwarts are making tall claims in this season of elections of liberating Srinagar, Jammu and even Delhi and Amritsar in a matter of days. Undoubtedly they will make thunderous speeches of hoisting the flag in these Indian cities. In this way political blackmail will be kept energised for a few months to come but only at the cost of the blood of Kashmiri youth. In foreign countries their hirelings will take out processions and call rallies and enjoy sumptuous feasts because for last fifty years, Azad Kashmir political horse traders have made the people of Kashmir their hostage by raising the bogey of Kashmir issue. In this manner they have managed to divert the attention of the public from their demand for providing them with basic necessities of life.

Therefore, I have a humble message not for political leadership of Azad Kashmir but for her youth. I want to ask them how long will they remain victims of self-delusion? How long they will remain hostages to their leaders back home while they toil endlessly to earn their livelihood in distant lands away from their near and dear ones? I have also a word for the leadership of the valley of Kashmir. They should take stock of the dead bodies of their sons, brothers, sisters and mothers dropping around them day in and day out. They should galvanize themselves into action for liberating Kashmir and Kashmiris from the bondage of the gun because now, besides the security forces, we too are actively involved in taking precious and innocent lives so wantonly. They must also consider what economic disaster has befallen Kashmir. In 1995 alone, more than

400 Kashmiri youth were killed in inter-gang rivalries. Those who died were sons, brothers and dear ones of people among us.

International opinion

As far as the question of smoothing of international opinion is concerned, it is a reality that in foreign countries public opinion does not go in our favour. By resorting to brutalities like kidnapping and beheading foreign tourists and by taking innocent lives through bomb blasts, we have provided an opportunity to the people abroad to label our movement as a terrorist movement like those in Egypt and Algeria. The influence of such organisations and single-member parties bringing out demonstrators on the streets of London or any other place or march along with British MPs who have a constituency of Asians, is hardly of any consequence for international opinion on Kashmir. The masses of people do not come out to join these protest rallies which presents a completely different picture from what the US faced in Europe and US in connection with Vietnam war. Not more than five per cent of population of Pakistans and Kashmiris living abroad have been participating in these rallies. It is a different story that London-based newspaper *Jung* sensationalises Indo-Pak relations and stops not short of capturing Delhi. "This is, in fact, the news bulletine of ISI brought out under the present name". I have in my possession letters exchanged between themselves by the staff members of *Jung*, London in which facts about imposition of a ban on freedom of expression have been given in full detail. It shows that every single-member party is on regular pay roll of some organisation or alternatively has been made a hostage to killing and kidnapping of Kashmiri youth only to sustain its political or journalistic existence. Thousands of people dole out lessons of using Kashmiri struggle for facilitating political asylum for the youth of Azad Kashmir and Pakistan. When the applications for seeking asylum against India began to be rejected here in Europe, a large number of applicants changed their stand and pleaded that they were being forcibly recruited by ISI and Pakistan army to join the war against India in Kashmir. In this way, some people have made Kashmir a business and source of income.

A few days ago the *Jung* London published a letter written by one Mahmud Ahmad from Birmingham. He hails from POK. He wrote: "There are a few families in UK who have migrated from Srinagar. But each one of these families has floated an organisation. The people from Indian part of Kashmir have floated four human rights councils, six charity trusts and one or two political organisations. What is to be seen is what differences do they have on the question of human rights so that they cannot make only one organisation. The fact is that these

organisations have one President and one or two office bearers and the rest is a blank. Take the case of Dr. Ayub Thukkar. His organisation is given much more projection than any other in the *Jung*. But till this day we could not find out whether, apart from him, there is or is not any other office bearer of his organisation. And if there are other office bearers, why is their name never mentioned. In the same way Nazir Gilani continues to be the General Secretary of an organisation for the last eight years. There must be a president or a chairman of his organisation. Why is there never any mention of him? What is this secret about and why do Pakistani newspapers give so much of importance and coverage to one-member parties? It is also alleged that some agencies hire intellectuals and capable people in UK and utilise them for specific purpose. After sowing seeds of discord and disunity among Kashmiris, they are blamed that they do not unite."

Mahmud Ahmad has conceded the truth on one side. People of Indian occupied Kashmir have the freedom of forming organisations for demanding their rights and projecting their problems. But the people of Azad Kashmir have been keeping themselves politically alive only by the name of Kashmiris living on the other side of the border. In the name of Kashmiris, Sardar Qayyum Khan and other leaders have amassed billions of rupees. What can one say of the irony that instead of crying over their own slavery, the leaders of Azad Kashmir feign crying over the slavery in Indian Kashmir.

Communal and inter-gang killings

Last month, foreign armed people kidnapped some innocent people in Barshala, Doda and then murdered them in a barbaric manner. The victims belonged to our state. There are many groups in Kashmir who claim that they are fighting for the freedom and rights of the people of the state. Neither humanism nor any religion permits these savage acts of murder. Those who claim to be the champions of Islam do not know that according to Islamic faith killing an innocent person is tantamount to killing humanism. Bomb blasts in Anantnag and Lal Chowk in Srinagar have taken the lives of innocent people. Bomb blasts engineered in Delhi have played havoc with God's humanity. By hurling a rocket on the mosque in Kahuta, Azad Kashmir, innocent lives have been lost. Such cowardly acts should be condemned strongly. This is precisely the reason why despite being oppressed, nobody is prepared to listen to the plight of Kashmiris. The Doda massacre perpetrated by foreign militants indicates that there is a calculated plan of converting Kashmir into another Afghanistan. The parties or groups who invite these armed groups to Kashmir, give them shelter and take pride in them, do they not compass

the death of innocent people, children, women and aged persons of Kashmir?. By striking fear in the minds of the people, don't they want to subject them to their ideology and enslave them to their political agenda? A close look at the pages of history will show that religious extremist parties in more than 70 Islamic countries have never been successful in forming a government on the strength of votes. In Pakistan, for example, during the previous elections, religious parties could not bag more than 2 per cent of the total vote cast. Unable to win power through ballot, these religious extremist groups have unleashed violence and terror throughout the world by barbaric acts of hurling bombs, gunning down people, kidnaping victims and keeping them as hostages. Imagine, for a while, if Hindu extremists in India embark on similar lunacy, how horrendous will be its reprisals? We have had a bitter experience in the past. It were the people of same diseased mind who murdered Muhammad Sultan Butt, the brother of Professor Abdul Ghani and the blame was brought to the doorsteps of Hizbu'l-Mujahideen. In retaliation, the Jamaat-e-Islami ex-member of Legislative Assembly, Abdul Razzaq was murdered. The blame was laid on Muslim Mujahideen. The point is that the leaders and others who support gun and become hostages to gun culture, ultimately get mowed down by the same gun along with those affiliated to them. The bullet shooting forth from the barrel is blind. It does not differentiate between the sinner and the innocent. In this connection the statements of Bilal Lodhi and Babar Badr and others are worth mentioning in which they have said, that in connection with Kashmir issue, unconditional talks should be held with New Delhi.

We know that armed men killed innocent persons like Professor Mushiru'l-Huq, Abdul Ghani and Khera. One gun totter of the same group once shot at an aged Kashmiri Pandit while he was easing himself. The man shot and killed him just because he wanted to test his repaired gun. When foreign tourists were kidnapped and one of them was brutally murdered by them, the people who had a hand in these brutalities come forward to condemn the act of Al Faran. They feigned to distance themselves from the group. Those who claimed that Al Faran was the creation of India, were belied by the statements which Harakatu'l-Ansar and other organisations released to local newspapers in the shape of a press release two weeks earlier. It said, "Hamid Turk and four others who were killed in an encounter with the army were people of Harakatu'l-Ansar. Kashmiris knew that Hamid was an activist of this organisation." In this way Harakatu'l-Ansar and Al Faran, both have confessed that Al Faran was created to seek the release of top Harakatu'l-Ansar leaders in India. I am reminded of my telephonic talk with a friend in Muzaffarabad. He said that Azhar Masoud, Sajjad Afghani and Abu

Jindal are very special people of ISI who brought success to the plans of religious organisations and ISI itself according to which foreign militants could entrench themselves in Kashmir. In order to seek their release, their sympathisers and next-of-kin in Pakistan will do everything possible.

Kashmir leadership

On the shoulders of Kashmir leadership especially on Shabbir Shah, rests a heavy responsibility. In order to save the future generations of Kashmir, they have to choose the path of truth and realism. If we allow ourselves to become the hostages of circumstances, then we shall be only signing the death warrants of our future generations. Already the security forces have taken a toll of life; we have now begun to indulge in fratricide, destroying the national wealth - forests. Assets of our society like tradition, confidence and trust are trampled under foot. How long shall we attribute mutual killings to 'Indian agents' and close our eyes to the realities. A gun is hardly used properly. The time is ripe when Kashmiri leadership should take stock of current situation and exhort the nation to reject the gun. They should take the movement into their hands.

The on-going struggle in Kashmir will bring nothing but fragmentation of Kashmir. We shall find nothing but more graveyards, more mourning houses and more of revenge and counter revenge. If Kashmir wins freedom in this shape, as was the case in Afghanistan, it will be a horrible and highly repugnant shape. In one of my previous articles "How long the Business over Dead Bodies of Kashmiri Youth" I had given some detail about an organisation called Muslim Hand. In this connection Shabbir Shah talked to me on telephone and told me that Muslim Hand members were providing aid to people in Kashmir through him. Despite that, it is a fact that under the cover of a paltry sum for relief work, millions of rupees are being embezzled in the name of Kashmiris.

My return

Having played a constructive role for the last six years, my friends, colleagues and relatives all over the world advise me that the time has come when I should take part in practical politics and that I should go back to Kashmir. I am also considering seriously whether I should go back to my native land after having spent 26 years of life in exile. This is almost an age. Out of this period, I have spent ten years in Pakistani jails. I have made Mr. Muzaffar Baig as my lawyer. (Earlier

Ramesh Pathak was to do that job. He died last year). Muzaffar Baig happens to be the friend of my leader late Maqbul Butt. I am told if a person is punished for a crime in any part of the world, he cannot be punished for the same crime again. But anything is possible in India and Pakistan. Who knows my hands may be tied and then an encounter- with- police case framed. Or there could be disappearance after arrest. As such, I shall take any step only after consulting all concerned friends, party workers and legal advisers. In any case, it is clear that I want to go back as an active and energetic person and not a dead man whose body is to be sent back from Europe. I feel I must join my people to provide them some comfort in their hour of suffering. To me politics is prayer.

While living in Europe, I never distanced myself from the problems facing my compatriots. First, I played my role in changing the destiny of the Kashmiri nation through Liberation Front. When that organization deviated from its basic ideology and objectives and fell in the lap of agencies, then we launched Democratic Liberation Party. We floated a welfare organisation, the social wing of Democratic Liberation Party, named MNWA. For the last three years we have been trying to provide , though on a limited scale, some relief to deserving people in Kashmir. We serve God's humanity irrespective of religion, sect, class, colour etc.

To the people of India

Gandhiji had withdrawn 'Quit India' movement because the element of violence had crept into it. People had resorted to loot and arson, as well as police and ruling forces were attacked. The British imperialism had reacted and tried to suppress them by using the state power. Gandhiji did not want the people to die. Thus though that movement was on the path of success yet it had to be recalled. Evidently Gandhiji knew the value of human life and humanism. But today the heirs of Gandhiji who rule the roost and the security forces who swear by the security of India are making not the armed militants but innocent civilians the targets of their bullets. They arrest people and then make them disappear. Zaheerud-Din has written a book on the subject entitled 'Did they Vanish in Thin Air'. Disappearance of a child or a grown up person is indeed a tragedy. The closest relatives of the victim do not know what happened to him. During the bloody revolution In Chile and Argentina, some people disappeared in the custody of military junta. Even today a movement goes on there to identify the perpetrators of the crime. The UN and Human Rights organizations have considered custodial disappearances as a major crime and violation of human rights. Custodial disappearance is a life long pain and punishment for the

relatives of the victim. Zaheeru'd-Din has mentioned in full detail the case of custodial disappearance of nearly 70 persons. The details include name, address, circumstances in which arrested, family's efforts for search, copies of writ petitions in High Court etc. Among them are a sixteen year old boy named Wahid Ahmad Ahangar of Sopor and 8 year old Javed Ahmad Dar. The 8-year old boy is reported to have thrown a stone on the vehicle of security forces. Those who have adopted the policy of arresting people in Kashmir and then making them disappear can never be called loyal to India. Such acts abuse Gandhiji's philosophy of non-violence and the democratic tradition of India. India gets a bad name on international level besides infesting Kashmiri mind with more hatred against India. Undoubtedly these are anti-India antics.

I, therefore, make a fervent appeal to the rulers of India and to those from whose office power flows that instead of rejecting the contents of Zaheeru'd-Din's book and the details of disappearances outright, they should institute a proper enquiry into the alleged cases and when the truth is established, give proper and legal punishment to the culprits. Justice has to be done to the families of the victims. The families of the victims should be given fullest possible detail of what happened to their wards. This will be victory for public justice. History tells us that only those nations and countries survive and move along the path of progress that provide justice to their people. The height of humanism is to provide justice to the people and especially to the oppressed. Kashmir is not only a political issue, it is also a human issue. Sons and daughters of Kashmir have been separated from their near and dear ones for the last 48 years. People have been made refugees in their own country and outside. Properties have been destroyed. Kashmiri youth are languishing in jails; Pandits and Muslims have been sent into forced exile, graveyards are extending day after day, people are overtaken by an impulse of revenge. For all these reasons, Kashmir issue has to be treated as a human problem. As Gandhiji said and did, politics has to be elevated to the level of worship.

Post script

These days there is much talk in political circles about partitioning of Kashmir. People comment on it according to their own interests. Pakistan pursues its Operation Topac agenda of grabbing Kashmir by hook or by crook. Sometime some Pakistani circles refer to American plan of dividing Gilgit, Baltistan and Azad Kashmir together with the valley of Kashmir. Dr. Farooq Abdullah talks about partition along the actual line of control so that he may continue in the seat of power. In the event of the division of Kashmir, the people of Kashmir will, on regional

and community basis, get nothing whatsoever except that our motherland and our birth place will be fragmented into pieces as does a canine do with its prey. Even then peace will not dawn upon the sub-continent. Therefore people in Kashmir, on either side of the cease fire line, will have to struggle and rise against any proposal that leads to the division of Kashmir.

March 15, 1996

Chapter 13

THE KASHMIR POLICY OF PAKISTANI RULERS

Kashmiri nation, particularly the people of the valley, have proved to be very sentimental. There may or may not be a justification for love and attachment, but when they come to love and demonstrate attachment, they will publicise overnight that the chinar leaves carry the writing *Sher-i-Kashmir Zindabad* (long live Sher-i-Kashmir ;meaning Shiekh Muhammad Abdullah) And conversely when they come to hate, they become the epitome of this befitting joke. A bearded elderly man passed by a shop. On beholding him, a person sitting in the shop said to his companion with love and reverence, "God save him from an evil eye. The light of spirituality is reflected on the face of this reverential religious person passing by our shop. God has blessed him with the choicest grace." The shopkeeper immediately retorted, "He is not a religious divine as you thought but a virtuous Christian priest. "The man responded " That is why he is afflicted with the curse. I also thought what an ominous face he has."

This is our temper and precisely it is owing to this vagrant temper that for the last four centuries, Kashmir region has been carrying the burden of of slavery. Whenever this nation tried to express its hatred against slavery and oppression, it was grounded in emotionalism and blind faith and not along rational lines. It was through, However whenever, there emerged on the scene capable and astute leadership like Shihabu'd-Din or Sultan Zain'l-Abidin of mediaeval times, Kashmiris found honour and dignity awaiting upon them. Apart from these stray events, by and large, Kashmiri nation is highly emotional and destructive by its very nature.

Blindness or Faith?

In this 20th century, even a two-year old baby asks why and how before accepting anything, our Kashmiri nation easily walked into the trap laid for them by various agencies, pretentious leaders, a few political jugglers and groups of self-serving persons.

As a result of this ensnarement, they allowed their youth to be killed on roads, in desolate places, over the mountains and in thick forests. Kashmiri nation did not ask why and how from those persons who initiated this struggle or got it initiated by others. There are individuals and pretentious leaders who, at the behest of agencies, tell Kashmiri nation something like this: "Pakistan has asked us to make a few bomb blasts immediately after which Pakistani army will wrest Kashmir from India precisely the way India did in Bangladesh in 1971." But the people did not ask them how in given circumstances, in given international situation and in view of balance of power between India and Pakistan, such a thing could be practical?

Kashmir continues to be the scapegoat offering itself and the future generations to the brokers who sell them to the butchers. If they do not still realise it, if they do not decide about their geography in the background of political and economic interests of the world around them refusing to keep pace with the computerised life of the world outside, if they do not come out of false religion-based suspicions, if they do not adopt transparency and the spirit of live and let live so that they and their future generations could live and develop in honour and dignity, then this nation's fate can only be destruction, poverty and subjugation to exploitation by others. The magnitude to which Kashmiri nation has been exploited by the rulers of Pakistan and its institutions in the name of Islam, faith and Muslims, has to be analysed in the background of history and facts. But this does not mean that the hands of Indian rulers are clean. Different political organisations and political leaders in India are heard saying in public that injustice has been done to Kashmiris, they have suffered oppression and intimidation. But we Kashmiris say in open that Indian rulers and institutions have time and again butchered our confidence and trust. They imposed on us whosoever had won the favour of New Delhi. With the support of barely two or three assembly members, they made hardly two or three assembly members, they made Gulla Shah as the Chief Minister which won nothing but a slap on the face of democracy. They left us economically destitute to the extent that despite four rivers running through our land — and being the source of life for the people of India and Pakistan — we do not have enough electricity to meet our requirements or run our factories. Ours is the valley of fruits, but we cannot afford to eat it. The three hour journey between Jammu

and Srinagar takes 12 to 20 hours to cover. One full generation has passed having been fed on intermittent announcements of bringing railway line to the valley. This apart, in the past six years, the oppression let loose by the Indian security forces on innocent men, women and children of Kashmir, will not be forgotten for several generations. However, despite all this, India should be given the credit of sticking to one policy viz. Kashmir is an inseparable part of India. Not on the basis of love or economic development or social justice or winning the hearts is the ruling circle of India consistent in its policy of calling Kashmir an integral part of India; it is consistent in its fifty years of oppression. India has to spend billions on Kashmir only to keep it as its part. In the process, people are getting killed. India is not yielding to any international pressure. She has adopted a very rigid attitude about the policy of inseparability even on international platform.

Jugular vein ?

On the other hand Pakistan's Kashmir policy is based on the plea that Kashmir is Pakistan's jugular vein. Added to this is the plea of common Islamic faith. This needs thorough analysis in order to enlighten the Kashmiris and prepare them for taking stock of their struggle and call its leadership to accountability. The policy of oppression adopted by India in Kashmir will ultimately harm India, her democracy, secularism, her trust and credibility. Pakistan's Kashmir policy has been harming us, the Kashmiris for half a century in the past because the people in the valley always followed Pakistan's Kashmir policy out of sheer blind faith. This needs to be unmasked so that the realities would open the eyes of Pakistan's true sympathisers. As in the past so now people at the helm of affairs in Islamabad are going to arrange elections in Azad Kashmir in order to bring their chosen people to power. Elections are scheduled for June 30. But for the last six months, there has been much friction over Presidential election between the rulers of Azad Kashmir and those of Islamabad. In the previous assembly the Muslim Conference of Sardar Qayyum Khan enjoyed majority. On the basis of this majority, Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan was declared presidential candidate by Qayyum Khan. Before the assembly was dissolved, the election of President was held and the Muslim Conference President, Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan was elected President for the second term on the strength of Muslim Conference vote. An assembly coming into being after June 30 would have danced to the tune of Islamabad and Sardar Qayyum Khan knew what was going to happen. Invariably the party in power in Islamabad selects its favourites to come to power in Muzaffarabad.

But for the elections of 30 June many nationalist parties jumped into the fray. Among these were National Liberation Front, National Students Federation, Peoples National Party, National Awami Party and Liberation Front. All applications submitted by the candidates of these parties were rejected, the reason being that the candidates of nationalist groups, while filing their nomination papers, had refused to fill in the oath document of "accession to Pakistan". Section 7, item 2 of Azad Kashmir Constitution says, "No person or political party in Azad Kashmir shall be permitted to propagate against or take part in activities prejudicial or detrimental to the ideology of the State's accession to Pakistan." (It must be reminded that this constitution has not been made by Azad Kashmir Assembly but by the Ministry of Law in Pakistan). Again according to Section 6, item 5, the President, Prime Minister and other ministers of Azad Kashmir cannot become eligible to these offices unless they take the oath of State's accession to Pakistan. To Pakistani rulers and institutions, accession to Pakistan means freedom of Kashmir. This is what their dictionary says.

Will the political leadership of the valley and her political workers protest against barring Azad Kashmir nationalists from taking part in elections or will they protest against thrusting a Pakistan - made constitution on the people of Azad Kashmir? Will they prove indivisibility of the unity of Kashmir's geography by such demonstrations and thereby show solidarity with such sincere but oppressed people of Azad Kashmir as had protested against India's oppression in the valley? To the people of the valley oppression and tyranny are what is perpetrated on them alone.

Hypocritical Kashmir Policy

This type of Kashmir policy has been adopted by Pakistani institutions since 1947 in order to mislead their own people and those in Kashmir. Only under these conditions could the civil and military bureaucracy, army Generals and feudal lords sustain Kashmir issue and continue their exploitation of unsuspecting people. In 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh concluded a stand still agreement with Pakistan under which post and telegraph department remained in the control of Pakistan. But Pakistani rulers blatantly violated the agreement before the ink had dried on the papers and contrived an attack on Kashmir through the tribal *lashkars* and Pakistani army under the command of General Akbar Khan and Major Khurshid (details of this attack are given by General Akbar Khan in his work *Invaders of Kashmir* and *Pindi Conspiracy*). Scared by the attack of the tribals, Maharaja Hari Singh left for Jammu and made an appeal to India for military assistance. Before landing their troops in Kashmir, Indian authorities asked him to sign the accession

document. In these circumstances, Maharaja Hari Singh made the State's accession to India. Had the Pakistani rulers shown a bit of patience and had they stuck by the stand still agreement with J&K State, history would have been different today. The attack from the tribal lashkars resulted in cease fire.

Even after cease fire, Pakistan's Kashmir policy has been no less vagrant. She established Kashmir Affairs Ministry in Islamabad and put it in the hands of an Under Secretary. For nearly 24 years, this lower rank bureaucrat made the Azad Kashmir politics dance to his tune. He has powers to spend thousands of millions of rupees. In those days when this Under Secretary paid a visit to Muzaffarabad, the President of Azad Kashmir stood in line among those receiving him at the airport. Hundreds of millions of rupees were distributed among the leaders and activists of Muslim Conference. Many senior leaders began receiving salaries in the form of stipends.

The Kashmiri Affairs Ministry allocated lakhs of rupees for producing pamphlets and posters based on Kashmir's accession to Pakistan and arranged sending them to the valley for widespread distribution in the valley. This expenditure had to be borne by the Pakistani tax payer. Late Pir Maqbul Shah Geelani, himself used to say that a bundle of pamphlets prepared at a cost of one thousand rupees in Rawalpindi, was shown to have cost one lakh of rupees on reaching Srinagar. Likewise, a sum of one lakh rupees brought to Srinagar for a particular political leader and especially Muhiu'd-Din Kara and others who now and then raised the slogan of accession to Pakistan was receipted for ten lakh (one million) by the time it reached Kashmir Affairs Ministry. In this way this ministry played the crucial role in corrupting most of the leaders of Azad Kashmir besides setting them one against the other. However, during the tenure of K.H. Khurshid as President of AK, the role of Kashmir Affairs Ministry was comparatively reduced. During the days of Ayub Khan, payment of salaries to the leaders and activists of Muslim Conference was stopped. Instead they were given lump-sum licences which they sold in the markets of Lahore and Rawalpindi. After salaries and licences, Muslim Conference members and some selected persons were favoured with contracts. Thus till this day, the generations of Muslim Conference have been exploiting the emotional people of Pakistan in the name of "accession to Pakistan."

The humiliation suffered by even notable personalities from the valley was often recounted by late Pir Maqbul Shah Geelani. He was one of the co-accused in the bomb case against Shiekh Abdullah. He had left his ecclesiastical seat and fled in Khanyar (Srinagar) and come to this side

of the ceasefire line. His widow, whom we call 'Mummy' out of respect, was thrown out from Poonch House in Rawalpindi along with her belongings on Kashmir Road by the officials of Kashmir Affairs Ministry. I, along with many others, was an eye witness to this scene. In short, the matters of Azad Kashmir and Kashmir continued to remain in the hands of Kashmir Affairs Ministry and Field Intelligence Unit (FIU). Anybody raising his voice against injustice and tyranny was rounded up by the FIU personnel. They labelled him as an Indian agent and then subjected him to extreme torture.

As a part of Kashmir policy, Ayub Khan hazarded another adventure in 1965. Without telling Kashmir leadership and people, he sent commandos into the valley. A large number of them was arrested and they gave interviews on All India Radio in which they disclosed their rank, and gave their message. Kashmiris understood the new game. India attacked Sialkot and Lahore border. The war came to an end as a result of Tashkent Agreement. Kashmir Affairs Ministry spread the rumour that the people of the valley had betrayed Pakistan and got the commandos arrested and that caused their (Pakistan's) defeat. This was another facet of Pakistan's Kashmir policy. This event has been thoroughly described by the then Commander -in- Chief General Musa and Air Chief, Air Marshall Asghar Khan in their books *The War of 1965* and *Commando Action*.

Bhutto and Simla Agreement

Then appeared Z.A. Bhutto on Pakistan's political scene. He met Indira Gandhi at Simla to secure the release of 90 thousand Pakistani soldiers — prisoners of war of 1971. Thus was concluded the Simla Agreement. One of its clauses says: "In Jammu and Kashmir the line of control resulting from the ceasefire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat of the use of force in violation of this line." With this clause in force, there was no need for any secret agreement. However, people who accompanied Z.A. Bhutto delegation said that changing the ceasefire line to the Line of Actual Control (LAC) was a temporary measure. The real purpose was to convert it into international border later on. As such commanders-in-chief on both sides held meetings and redrew on map the borders in Kashmir. Many changes were made on the ground in the line of actual control.

Another clause of Simla Agreement is also worth considering. It says:

"Both (India and Pakistan) have agreed that the issue may not be brought on any international forum without consent of both the countries."

The Simla Agreement was passed by the Pakistani Parliament unanimously. Pakistan fully observed both the clauses of the agreement. Despite becoming the cause for spilling of so much blood in Kashmir, Pakistani troops did not cross the actual control line nor did Pakistan legally bring forth Kashmir issue at any international forum for discussion.

She did not introduce a resolution in the Security Council or the UN General Assembly because of the constraints of Simla Agreement. The question is if in opposition to Israel's attack on Lebanon, the session of the General Assembly as well as of the Security Council could be called, why could not Pakistani rulers formally bring in Kashmir question for a debate during past six years? But again this could not be done owing to Simla Agreement. This is the reason why time and again the Secretary General of UN has said "unless both the countries approach us, we cannot discuss the issue."

Inside Simla Story !

Therefore in order to befool the Kashmiris and their own people, Pakistani rulers carved out appealing words like 'human rights', 'moral and political support' etc. when even the most stupid person in the world knows that by making a noise about human rights or by the rhetoric like moral and political support, Pakistan cannot wrest Kashmir from India. Nor is India going to hand over Kashmir to Pakistan out of the fear of a few guns taken up by some youth. Therefore we Kashmiris have become prisoners of blind faith ignoring legal bindings and international agreements. After the signing of Simla Agreement, Bhutto tried to make Azad Kashmir a province of Pakistan, but we the nationalists scuttled his plan. However, he did draft the Interim Constitution of 1974 for Azad Kashmir. The Jammu and Kashmir Council was constituted with the Prime Minister of Pakistan as its Chairman. In the manifesto of PPP there was included an expression of desire to make Azad Kashmir a province of Pakistan. Some legal innovations were brought in for Gilgit and Baltistan which would, in future, facilitate integration of this area into Pakistan as a province. PPP was brought to Azad Kashmir. A trustworthy member of Bhutto delegation to Shimla said: "Bhutto had assured Indira Gandhi that the existing ceasefire line would be made international border. But Indira must strengthen my position at this time by releasing over 90,000 thousand prisoners of war. [Having secured the

release of prisoners of war, Bhutto distanced himself from the people and strengthened the army. It were the Army Generals who contrived to send him to the gallows. During those days, Bhutto laid the foundation of one more tradition. He offered a greater role in Pakistan politics to the intelligence branch of the army viz. the ISI (Inter Services Intelligence) which he used to suppress his political opponents. Ultimately, the Generals put an end to his life and themselves assumed the reins of the government of Pakistan. The fortune of ISI found an upswing under the military rule.

Afghan crisis

Then to the good fortune of the Generals, Soviet troops marched into Afghanistan. In the light of this development, the CIA decided to make Pakistan its operational base to check and throw back the Soviets from Afghanistan. This paved the way for CIA to exercise its control over ISI in Pakistan, and it was further strengthened. All religious groups in Afghanistan were organised and galvanised and trained by ISI to fight against the Soviets. Full details of these operations are to be found in *The Bear Trap* written by a Brigadier of ISI who was in-charge of Afghan affairs in his organisation. Thus ISI is not only a stronger government within Pakistan government but has also emerged as the king maker.

ISI and Operation Topac !

In 1984, military generals in Pakistan decided to make an adventure in Kashmir. A plan called 'Operation Topac' was drawn. Now they and the ISI had the experience of 1965 commando operation in Kashmir and also of the resistance movement in Afghanistan directed against the Russians. This fund of experience was put to use in the contemplated plan for Kashmir. The basics of this plan would be to recruit Kashmiri youth from the valley, give them training in the camps on Pakistan side, provide them with arms and ammunition and send them back to the valley. They were to create chaos there so that Pakistan troops could enter into Kashmir. The Western bloc and the US would remain silent owing to the developments in Afghanistan. This would secure Kashmir or at least the valley of Kashmir for Pakistan.

ISI Contacts me!

India was considered an ally of Russia. However, ISI made a big mistake at this point of time. It looked at me as I happened to be the Chairman of Liberation Front in Pakistan and AK at that time. In 1984-85 winter, the ISI was in touch with me for three months. In my

delegation which used to talk to ISI, were included Zubairu'l-Huqq Ansaria (General Secretary), late Rashid Hasrat (Chief Organiser), and Dr. Farooq Haider (Treasurer). I flatly refused to be a player in a game that would end up in the destruction of Kashmir and her people. Having come to know from ISI the full detail of their plan, I was left with no doubt in my mind that Pakistan's military and ISI wanted to make only the Kashmiri youth the cannon fodder. After ISI had parleys with me, talks were also held with the then Amir of Jamaat-e-Islami in Kashmir namely Saadu'd-Din and the General Secretary Ghulam Muhammad Butt. Later on Maulana Abdul Bari was also included in this team. Ghulam Nabi Fai (of Kashmir American Centre) and Ayub Thakur (World Kashmir Movement) were called from Saudi Arabia. Ultimately the Liberation Front under the leadership of Amanullah Khan was used for the furtherance of the plan.

Operation Topac Failed !

Amanullah Khan has always been fame-hungry and fell in the trap of ISI. He played the role of a *Kothdar* (in Kashmiri meaning the supplier of sheep to the butchers) arranging for Kashmiri youth to come over the mountain passes and receive training and arms in Pakistan. The fate of these Kashmiri youth was only death and destruction. Of course, they did not escape it. ISI began enrolling Kashmiri youth coming from across the border. But realising that Liberation Front pursued the ideology of self-determination, the ISI decided to undermine it. As many as 124 groups were formed in the valley; whosoever came to them, he was bestowed the rank of commander, general, brigadier, colonel etc. together with money and arms. The ISI had come to understand that Operation Topac had not succeeded. As such it changed the strategy to extended destabilisation process in the valley which could be done by creating numerous groups and organisations. This is how the political movement of Kashmiris was subjected to the rule of the gun and the movement fragmented into pieces. All importance was given to the gun so that the political movement was denied to play its role. However, while organising different armed groups, ISI committed grave mistake. Without giving ideological and intellectual training, it provided gun to everybody. Nothing by the name of discipline was inculcated among the young people. They were kept in different camps and thus their potential was wasted. Then there in the camp areas surfaced the clashes between the locals and the migrants with which most of the Kashmiri youth were fed up. Naturally the image they had formed of Pakistan crumbled into pieces. Thus the youth who were upholders of pro-Pak accession ideology, now use the very arms and the expertise given to them by Pakistan for the protection of the interests of India. Today they are called Indian

agents or renegades and are snubbed. The point is that until yesterday they were fighting for Pakistan and were called mujahids. India did not need to give them either training or arms. These young people equipped with arms and training as they were in Pakistan, are now using this equipment against those who speak pro-Pak accession language with more vengeance than the Indian security forces. They are fully in know of the hideouts of their erstwhile companions, and are helping in liquidating them more rapidly than the security forces.

U turn !

A big misfortune of Operation Topac and of ISI was that the war in Afghanistan came to an end and the Soviet forces withdrew. With that Pakistan lost its importance as a base camp for the Western powers and the US. Naturally Pakistan's Kashmir policy, essentially based on the concept of colonialism, did not succeed. This policy brought the Kashmiris the gift of more and more corpses of Kashmiri youth and widespread destruction of their land. It forced the senior leaders of the struggle like Azam Inquilabi, Dr. Ghulam Qadir Wani, Babar Badr, Bilal Lodhi and many others to bid farewell to arms, and with that also their courtship with Pakistan.

Tactics change

But ISI, now changed tactics to reinforce their plan of turning whatever was left in Kashmir, into ruins. Having lost their faith in Kashmiri youth, they began to use the Jamaat-e-Islami and Harakatu'l-Ansar platforms for infiltrating Afghan, Sudanese and Pakistani youth into Kashmir. Only recently, the US said that Pakistan was responsible for spreading terrorism in Kashmir. Kashmiri nation was fed up with this instrument (gun) of destruction. Pakistan immediately sensed growing disenchantment of Kashmiri youth with the gun and gave one more turn to her Kashmir policy.

APHC

Pakistani agency now forged a new alliance called All Party Hurriyat Conference. It is a conglomerate of several parties. The position is that the parties and groups which have become the components of Hurriyat Conference including such parties as are linked with armed groups, are openly murdering one another's activists. It is really the misfortune of this nation that a respectable leader and senior freedom fighter like Shabbir Shah, too, coming under the pressure of 'Kashmir policy', walked into the trap of the APHC. He as well, could not become a

catalyst for redeeming the nation's crumbling hopes and aspirations by putting the movement on right and positive track. Our Democratic Liberation Party also accepted membership of APHC family for two years. But I must put it on record that in every meeting of the APHC we tried our level best that the parties and groups comprising the alliance should stop mutual killing, loot and arson. We tried that bombs were not hurled in bazars and on public roads lest innocent people should get butchered. We demanded that unnecessary and frequent calls for strikes be stopped, steps be taken to provide succour to destitute families, imprisoned activists and a clear and thoughtful plan be given to the people to run an organised movement. But at the time of creating Hurriyat Conference, the only objective of 'Kashmir policy' was to oblige the leaders. They were to be facilitated to go on foreign tours or to provide them medical treatment in foreign countries, and nothing beyond that. Fed up with all that was happening in APHC, we the Democratic Liberation Party chose to be silent. We bade it farewell and looked for a new union of nationalist elements.

Kashmir Committee

Another facet of Kashmir policy is that of creation of Kashmir Committee which was given in the hands of "huqqah" meaning Nawabzadeh Nasrullah Khan. The one and only purpose of creating Kashmir Committee was that Benazir Bhutto did not want Nawabzadeh to go into the hands of her political rivals. About the Khan it is said that, "He is an expert hand at the forming of an alliance to impose martial law during democracy, and in forming alliance for imposition of a democratic regime during martial law". As Chairman of Kashmir Committee, he was given the status of a federal minister. In this way the Nawab kept himself busy with his Kashmir Committee and his 'huqqah'. On the basis of its performance, every Pakistani and Kashmiri calls it 'Nawazish Committee' meaning beneficiary committee. Opposition leadership calls it an effort of keeping Nawab Sahib "engaged" during the last phase of his life. Pakistan's aged politicians and bureaucrats find a berth in this committee enabling them to go on foreign visits. They have been occasionally addressing the assemblies of Pakistani and POK emigres in foreign countries. Enjoying foreign trips to their hearts content, they collect their travelling and daily allowances and return home with hefty amounts in their pockets. It should be mentioned that prior to Kashmir Committee, there existed a Kashmir Cell under Pakistan's Kashmir policy headed by a retired Air Marshall with 60,000 rupees salary per month. He had set up office in his own house in Islamabad for which he claimed 25,000 rupees per month as rent. Crores of rupees were reportedly embezzled in Kashmir Cell in which Sardar

Qayyum Khan's son Sardar Atiqu'r-Rahman was also involved. Pakistani papers wrote profusely about this scam.

Pakistani and AK emigres

We have already said that for Pakistani institutions Kashmir cause means Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. But Pakistan's foreign missions do not know what is Pakistan's Kashmir policy. Some of the Pakistani missions abroad harness a few emigres from Pakistan and AK and through them float organisations under various names. These organisations are provided funds and are prompted to stage anti-India demonstrations in front of Indian embassies now and then. However, now Pakistani authorities do not repose trust in emigres from AK, and mostly Pakistanis are placed in the forefront of these organisations. The mercenaries are entrusted with the task of whipping up anti - India hysteria. There are, of course, some genuine Kashmiris who include some from Azad Kashmir and Pakistan joining the demonstrators and protesting against the atrocities of Indian security forces on Kashmiris in the valley. There are some more people who join the Pakistan - organised demonstrations more out of their genuine concern for the oppressed people in the valley.

Nexus

In any case, the 'higher leadership' has made it its business. After calling a few names to the Indians in their protest demonstrations, and pouring out anti-India rhetoric before the gullible audience comprising mostly their own men, they find justification for claiming handsome remuneration. Officials of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs, and some others in respective Pakistani missions abroad collude to take their share in the general loot of Pakistan's public exchequer. This is how Pakistan's Kashmir policy is being conducted once it got institutionalised. To be precise, it has now become an industry having established a nexus from Washington to London to Islamabad to Srinagar. Having depleted Pakistani exchequer by billions of rupees for the last fifty years, the output of Kashmir industry has been nothing except that anybody like myself criticising Kashmir policy is immediately branded as a "traitor and an agent", and plans are drawn to liquidate him. If the critic happens to be a bright journalist, intellectual and sincere friend, like Mujibu'r-Rahman Shami, he can be got thrashed by the goons openly. Nationalists like myself who are not prepared to compromise the honour and freedom of the motherland and the rights of the people, are made target of propaganda of the most wicked type. We are branded as "traitors and agents". If we still persist with our criticism then threats of killing and

stifling our voice are handed down. Abuses are hurled on us on telephone. A knowledgeable friend called me from Pakistan and said, "Hashim, your truthful writings uncover the true face of the people with vested interests. Secret circulars are sent to schools and colleges in Azad Kashmir directing that your articles be banned for reading by students. A ban has already been imposed on these at various places, and now these people are thinking of imposing a ban on your breath. In this connection, a meeting of officials of high authority has been held in which a General poured out his venom in these words, **"Can't you guys shut his mouth? Had he given us support in 1984, then today the US and the West would have been supporting us"**. Two articles viz. *How long business over the dead bodies of Kashmiri youth* and *Kashmir's independence in which shape?* had enraged the said member in the high-power meeting. If you still mend your ways you will get your share from this industry. Nobody will ask you to submit account of your share because for last fifty years nobody demanded submission of account from Pakistanis and Kashmiris. Not only that, you will be projected in newspapers as a towering leader."

Commitment

I have spent ten years of my life in Pakistani jails during which I saw Bangladesh coming into existence. I saw the Bhutto revolution, General Zia's military revolution. I have known present day towering political leadership of Pakistan. All of them know that I speak nothing but the truth: this is a sort of a disease which will not leave me till the last day of my life. However, friends, sincere and loving, sometimes advise me to stop telling the truth. After the on-going conspiracy, I once seriously began thinking that I have small children to care for and I am the only support to them. I must, therefore, stop writing the articles that speak the truth. I said why should I sacrifice my life at the altar of truth when the entire atmosphere in which we live is replete with falsehood and fraud. But then I remembered what the Holy Quran says: 'You may secure yourself in forts with rising walls, the death shall overtake you because all living beings must taste of death'. Thus overcoming the fear of death, I shall continue my struggle to liberate oppressed people of this subcontinent from the atrocities of powerful rulers. I shall struggle for their rights and for peace. Unless Indians and Pakistanis are prepared to resolve Kashmir issue on the basis of justice to Kashmiris, the subcontinent will continue to be in the throes of disaster. The people of Pakistan, her intellectual sections and Kashmiris have the right to know that India has not maintained her sway over Kashmir because she spends billions of rupees as police force of that she perpetuates oppression on

Kashmiri people, but because in Pakistan there exists the ' Kashmir policy ' framed by feudal lords, military junta and the bureaucracy. As long as this policy continues, the government will perpetuate because the struggle for accession to Pakistan or of wresting Kashmir from India is not integral to Pakistan's Kashmir policy. What is at the core of Kashmir policy is a mechanism to ensure perpetuation of feudal, military and bureaucratic power structure.

The luxurious life style of military Generals, their expensive limousines and livery, the hi-fi bureaucracy and their foreign jaunts and the politicians' exploitative culture, all in the name of Kashmir so that Pakistani masses are kept back from pressing their demand for the rights, all tend to reinforce the feudal system in that country with further strength in the 20th century. Hence is raised in Pakistan the huge army to protect that system. But since such a large army cannot be maintained in the name of protection of feudalism, the alibi has been found in Kashmir policy, and under that thin veneer, exploitation of the masses in Pakistan continues. Therefore the intellectuals of Pakistan as well as pro-Pakistan Kashmiris have to decide whether they should rise in support of the truth to solve the problems of the people or disfigure the very face of the truth?

Elections in Kashmir

Indian administration has conducted parliamentary elections in Kashmir. We are told that it was an experiment preceding Assembly elections. In regard to average of the votes cast, there are conflicting reports in different circles. What is interesting is that Congress candidates would not win more than an odd seat in Parliamentary elections. But it was the charisma of the fear and intimidation that Congress captured three seats. Leave others alone, even many of those who would take up arms to defend the interests of India, were also confronted with a defeat. Our good friend Bhim Singh and his comrades were destined to lose in the elections but they claimed that these were not fair. The question is not who won and who lost. The real question is whether this election will help in solving the basic problem in Kashmir. Will peace return to Kashmir? Will the refugees of Kashmir including the Pandits be able to return to the valley? Will there be peace even after September elections? We don't think these things will really happen by holding elections. Kashmir is not Punjab and those who are disposed to equate the two are certainly committing a mistake.

Post election scenario

A new government, now headed by Inder Kumar Gujral has been installed in New Delhi. This government comprises intellectuals (like Mr. Gujral himself), left parties and representatives of weaker section of Indian society. Therefore taking any one-sided bureaucratic decision on Kashmir, the government should, in all sincerity, convene an all party convention including representatives from Kashmir without any preconditions. This convention should be able to propose the formula for the solution of Kashmir issue that does justice to all people who live in the State. The present government in New Delhi has got a chance of strengthening the foundations of secularism in India. If this government falters anywhere and the masses become dissatisfied with it, that would be too dangerous a situation and only religious extremist groups and parties will benefit from it.

Bomb blasts

We have repeatedly exhorted militant groups in Kashmir not to make common and innocent persons the victims of bomb blasts. The wide world looks at these blasts with utmost hatred and disgust. Furthermore, only poor people become their victims who are already afflicted with hunger, disease and oppression in various forms. They are the bread earners of their poor families which should not be deprived of their services. The victim could be the only son of his old parents who would be waiting for his return home after days toil and labour. Bomb blasts kill not only human beings but humanity itself. Man's aspirations and hopes are dashed. All this for what; only to please your masters or to amass wealth. What is more, when gas cylinder blasts occur, some Kashmiri and Sikh militant groups hasten to own the responsibility. No sincere Kashmiri who wants Kashmir to be free would be in favour of bomb blasts. These blasts cause severe damage to Kashmir cause. Bomb blasts were made in the house of Abdul Ghani Lone. This is highly condemnable. We said time and again that bullet and bomb make no distinction between a friend and a foe. Those who support them must ultimately fall victim to it.

Final word

An FIR was registered against me under Enemy Ordinance 3 and other sections in Sadar Police Station, Kothi Bagh, Srinagar. Under the same section, a case was filed against Muhammad Maqbool Butt and myself in the Special Court in Pakistan. According to international law, a person cannot be given punishment a second time if he has been tried and

punished once and under the same section and crime. I have, therefore, decided to return to Kashmir as early as possible. I would, after Maqbool Butt's execution, once again put Indian judiciary to a test because in the past those who engineered the hijacking of the aircraft, became Assembly members and ministers. In addition, it will also open the eyes of sincere friends and nationalists on both sides of Kashmir that Hashim Qureshi will always remain faithful to his motherland and his people. This would provide me an opportunity of taking full part in an effort to alleviate their suffering and their woes.

Postscript

It must be borne in mind that the real intention of Pak rulers has never been the freedom of Kashmiris. They have been trying hard to see how the control of the sources of rivers remains in their hands, and not in India's hands. They also care for ensuring the security of Pakistan's borders from defence point of view. It is for these objectives that Pakistan has always secretly supported the proposition of division of Kashmir. In fact the present armed resistance has also been initiated with the tacit understanding of plan for division of Kashmir. Insurgency has been initiated only in those regions of the State where Muslims are in majority and where lie the sources of rivers flowing towards Pakistan. Whatever decision was to follow this struggle was bound to end up in the division of Kashmir with the scheme of Jammu and Ladakh going to India and the valley to Pakistan. We must recall to mind that six month long Bhutto - Swaran Singh talks on Kashmir were based on the partition of Kashmir. Even today various circles are talking about resolving Kashmir issue on the basis of give and take just as Pakistan asks for the valley or wants to make it autonomous, integrate Gilgit, Baltistan and Azad Kashmir into her territory. On the other side, Dr. Farooq Abdullah and some retired Generals of India and Pakistan suggest that the Line of Actual Control be converted into international border for permanent solution of Kashmir.

Re-unification of J&K state is only solution !

In my opinion those in Kashmir, Azad Kashmir, Pakistan and India who have opposed these propositions of partition of Kashmir are, in fact, the true nationalists and friends of Kashmir. I must say that by rejecting the proposals of partition of Kashmir, BJP had performed a historic role in protecting and safeguarding Kashmir's solidarity and territorial integrity. No problems are solved by dividing nations, countries and nationalities. The living example of partition of India is before us, the problems have not been solved. For all practical purposes, Kashmir

remains partitioned for last 50 years. But has it solved problems? Problems can be solved by uniting not by dividing people.

The only solution of Kashmir tangle is its re-unification as in 1947 and the neighbouring states of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan should unite to form a loose confederation.

Following the example of 16 countries of European Union or that of Canada, United States, Mexico, or like Scandinavian countries, they should open their markets for trade with one another doing away with visa restrictions just as between India and Nepal or European countries. This is the way how poverty, disease and economic backwardness in the entire region can be eradicated. This will save the poor people from bearing the heavy burden of defence expenditures; this will relieve them from the fear of war enabling them to follow the example of Europe to march ahead along the path of development and progress.

June 20, 1996

Chapter 14

KASHMIR ELECTIONS AND CHANGING CONDITIONS IN SOUTH ASIA

This year (1996), the governments of India and Pakistan, both claimed that elections were free and fair. In Pakistan controlled Azad Kashmir, Baltistan and Gilgit areas were excluded from general elections. The ruling Muslim Conference in that part of Kashmir met with a disastrous defeat by securing paltry eight out of a total of forty seats of the legislative assembly. Twenty-eight seats were bagged by (or made to go into the bag of the PPP). Later on, also out of 8 seats reserved for women, technocrats and religious divines, 7 seats were captured by the PPP leaving the remaining one seat for the Muslim Conference).

Out of a total of 48 seats of AJK assembly, 12 seats are reserved for Kashmir migrants (*mohajirs*) scattered all over Pakistan, from Peshawar to Karachi. There 12 seats are distributed equally for migrants from Kashmir and Jammu regions. Past experience shows that these 12 seats are invariably captured by the candidates of the party which is in power in Islamabad. For example as the Muslim League (Nawaz Sharif) was in power in Islamabad in 1991 - 92, Nawaz Sharif publicly said that they had given 12 seats to the Muslim Conference " by way of a gift."

The situation is not without irony. Sardar Atiq-ul-Rehman Khan, the son of the outgoing prime minister Sardar Qayyum Khan, was made to win the Jammu *mohajir* seat from Karachi. Atiq-ul-Rehman was born at Dhirkot in Bagh district in AJK. Knowledgeable Kashmiri migrants consider the control of these 12 seats as an instrument of making the

people of Azad Kashmir hostages in the hands of Pakistani bureaucracy and the Minister of Kashmir Affairs. The reason is simple. Members elected on these 12 seats do not reside in Azad Kashmir but in Pakistan. As such, a law enacted in AK but detrimental to the interests of the people of AK, is not applicable to these members. It has been seen that these members are the foremost in making such harmful laws because they bow to the wishes of rulers in Islamabad.

However, it may be recalled that late K.H. Khurshid always fought the battle of the people on all available fronts. Whenever the masses in AK raise objections on the disposal of these twelve seats, they are told that in order to keep the Kashmir question alive, these seats are very important. Materially these twelve seats have not brought any benefit to ordinary *mohajirs*. But of course, for Islamabad, to be precise for Islamabad bureaucracy, they have got hold of a few people to arbitrarily enact some laws for AK. Evidently the people of AK have reason not to have any respect or fraternal sentiments for the migrants from Kashmir valley and Jammu. Pakistan - based Jammu and Kashmir migrants are not only entitled to all the privileges provided in Pakistan, but more often than not, they take a share of seats in medical and other professional colleges for their incompetent wards. It has to be reminded that Kashmiri migrants residing in Pakistan have been given the right of vote in elections to provincial assemblies and the national assembly. In this way Pakistani bureaucracy has not only created a privileged class among the J&K migrants whose member wins AJK assembly seat by a margin of 500 to 1000 votes, but has also made them become instrumental in sowing the seeds of hatred in the minds of the AK people against Kashmir migrants.

Since in the recent elections, PPP happened to be in power in Islamabad, the two dozen seats in question fell to the lot of Muslim Conference candidates. Both the Muslim Conference and Sardar Qayyum Khan have accused PPP government of large scale irregularities in elections. Till date Sardar Qayyum Khan has not even taken the oath as assembly member. After the expiry of two months of stipulated time, extension of another month has been granted to Sardar Qayyum Khan by the Speaker of the assembly. Mian Nawaz Sharif made an amusing comment on these elections. He said, "After allowing so many serious irregularities in the elections, we have not only caused harm to the Kashmir cause but have also become incapable of supporting the freedom of Kashmir."

In any case, Chowdhury Sultan Mahmud, the one who belongs to Chowdhury fraternity of Mirpur and had come to PP after the break up of

Liberation League, was nominated prime minister by the Peoples' Party. He had been elected the President of Azad Muslim Conference probably in 1984 in place of his father, Nur Husain. After the death of K.H. Khurshid, he amalgamated Azad Muslim Conference into Liberation League and became the president of the combined party. When the PPP came to power, he joined it towards the end of 1993. The biggest advantage enjoyed by Chowdhury Sultan Mahmud is his father's close relations with sycophant journalist who always kept him in focus by projecting him in headlines. His second merit is that he is capable of collecting the labour force of emigrant Chowdhury community in New York and England for staging demonstrations which have now become the symbol of loyalty in the estimation of the ruling classes, bureaucrats and the establishment in Pakistan.

I am reminded of a news which appeared sometimes in 1989 - 90 in the headlines of London - based *Jung*. It said that a strong demonstration led by Chowdhury Sultan Mahmud took place in front of the International Court at The Hague. The news was supplemented by a picture of some demonstration. Stationed in Holland as I was, I made some enquiries about the veracity of the news. A friend of Chowdhury clan, based in The Hague, advised me not to trust the news appearing in the newspapers. It may be mentioned that there are allegations against Nur Husain, the father of Chowdhury Sultan Mahmud, of misappropriating six crores of rupees in a cooperative bank scandal. The money belonged to the poor people of AK. In this connection, I am reminded of an incident of 1984 which took place in Rawalpindi. I was sitting in the show room of the brother of Nasir Ali, the student leader in Rawalpindi. Chowdhury Sultan Mahmud happened to drop in. At that time, he was a fresh entrant in politics and began speaking about political matters as Nasir, too, sat there. I said to him, "Chowdhury Sahib, politics should be like praying to God. If you want to speak about politics, you should first return six crore rupees of the people of Kashmir been embezzled by you in the name of Cooperative banks." He was embarrassed to the extent that he immediately left the place. Our next encounter was in Geneva in 1993 where a young Kashmiri invited the people (of POK) for dinner. Ghulam Nabi Fai of KAC was also present. Intending to exchange pleasantries with me, Chowdhury Sultan Mahmud said,

"Hashim Sahib, you are a man of considerable experience. We know many, if not all, of the ways of how an intelligence agency like ISI works. Does the Indian intelligence agency RAW also work like ISI since you belong to the other side of the Kashmir (you should be knowing it)?" I retorted, "You say that you know the functioning of ISI. This means that

instead of doing politics, you are working for an intelligence agency. I do not know anything about RAW because I have never worked with them. But of course, I have read a book entitle *Inside RAW*, which appeared to me more a fiction than anything based on facts. However, I think all agencies work almost the same way." Then Chowdhury Shahbaz, a colleague of Sultan told him something in his ear and then Chowdhury Sultan Mahmud maintained complete silence till the dinner party disperse. Unfortunately this very Sultan Mahmud has now been made the prime minister of AK. Immediately after assuming the office, he announced the formation of a ministerial committee with the agenda of conducting enquiry into the 56 crore rupees scam in Kashmir Liberation cell. The Chairman of the cell was Sardar Qayyum Khan and his son Sardar Atiq Khan was its Executive Chairman. A cheque of 8 crore rupees was issued in the name of Sardar Atiq Khan from the Liberation Cell.

It needs to be remembered that in AK, elections area invariably won on the basis of community affiliations (*biradari*). But what makes the recent elections to be distinctly memorable is that most of the nationalist groups in AK formed an alliance and fielded their candidates under the same. While filing their nomination papers, these candidates refused to sign the oath document prescribing Kashmir's accession to Pakistan and of loyalty to Pakistan. The nomination papers of all the 34 nationalist candidates who had refused to sign the oath document were, therefore, rejected. Thus they were denied the opportunity of taking part in 'fair and impartial' elections. On that day, it became the main story for the international press. It said that while on the one hand Pakistan was raising a hue and cry for the freedom of Kashmiris, on the other hand she was denying the Kashmiri nationalists the right to take part in elections because they refuse to sign the oath document stipulating accession with Pakistan. Is it not duplicity, the papers wrote. We do not think that it is double speak because the truth is that in the eyes of the rulers of Pakistan, her bureaucracy, military junta and her political leadership, Kashmir's accession to Pakistan means the independence of Kashmir.

As far as the question of the status of AK prime minister is concerned, we may venture to remind our readers that when the PP Prime Minister, Mumtaz Husain Rathore, presented a guard of honour to the dismissed prime minister Benazir Bhutto, the government in Islamabad contemplated the dismissal of AK's PP government Mumtaz Husain Rathore was asked to submit his resignation. But when he refused to oblige Islamabad, the then Pakistan Minister for Kashmir Affairs, Mehtab Abbasi, told the press reporters, "A police constable of mine is enough to throw out the prime minister of AK, namely Mumtaz

Husain Rathore." And in truth, a soldier put him on board the helicopter and dropped him in Muzaffarabad. No sooner did he reach Rawalpindi than he was made to sign his letter of resignation after which he was put behind the bars in Idyala jail in Rawalpindi. Recently there was a news migrated to AK, had gone back to their homes in Kashmir. The opposition in AK made a loud noise on this issue. They said that prime minister Sultan Mahmud drew a sum of 20 lakh rupees from Kashmir Liberation Cell for his European tour and spent it on splashing his photograph with Omar Farooq and on hosting lavish reception. But he could not take care of Kashmiri mohajir families which had caused damage to Kashmir movement. Whenever political leaders of AK proceed to tours of Europe or the US, they usually justify these as necessary to strengthen Kashmir issue on international fora and to keep it alive. In Europe, they collect their prosperous compatriots of common fraternity and social groups on these receptions together with one or two MPs and then take their photographs. Back home, these photographs are enlarged to poster size cutouts and distributed widely in AK and Pakistan as a proof of keeping the Kashmir issue alive and the political gimmickry connected with it. This time Sultan Mahmud got himself photographed with Omar Farooq, the chairman of APHC. On his return, this photograph was reproduced in a large number of Pakistani dailies including the *Jung of London*. Full size cutouts of this picture carried the banner line "Sultan Mahmud revives Kashmir question." But the Kashmiris would do well to ponder on the results of these hypocrisies. Despite wasting crores of rupees, Kashmir question has not been 'revived' on any international platform in any way, neither at Geneva nor at the United Nations. Not only that, the exercise has boomeranged and the issue has been struck off the agenda of Security Council.

The bitter truth is that political outfit in AK managed their survival on these propagandists manoeuvring making the poor people of AK hostages to Kashmir question for last 50 years. These politicians have been doing this business that the masses of people are denied their rights and freedom. Evidently, this drama will go until the people of AK, Gilgit and Baltistan hold them accountable for their action. The ouster of Benazir has gravely endangered the regime in AK. It is likely that this government will be dismissed through Sardar Ibrahim Khan the President of AK. This would be the vindication of Benazir's refusal of making him the prime minister of AK in spite of Sardar Ibrahim Khan becoming the president of AKPP. Instead, prime ministership was offered to Mumtaz Husain Rathore.

Indian part of J&K

From AK, let us turn to the Indian controlled Kashmir. After a gap of nine years, elections to state legislative assembly were held in September 1996 in four stages. Under the shadow of the gun of security forces, riding bullet proof cars with Z security arrangement, almost all candidates for the elections without reaching their prospective voters. A big democracy that India is, also claimed to have conducted fair elections in its part of Kashmir. The regional party, National Conference, bagged 58 seats in a house of 87 thus winning absolute majority. Dr. Farooq Abdullah was made the leader of the parliamentary party and then the chief minister. Because these elections were being held after an interval of eight or nine years, naturally they became the focus of attention for all political observers throughout the world. These elections were commented upon in and outside India by various quarters. A few dailies of London like Independent, Times and the Guardian wrote, "either the voters were brought from their homes to the polling booth under the threat from armed personnel and pressure of security forces, or those fed up with militancy came out to cast their vote." Others commented as this "Militancy has destroyed the economy of Kashmir and innumerable people are behind the bars. In Governor's rule, bureaucracy and officials imported from New Delhi had become the masters of daily lives of Kashmiris. They, therefore, took part in the elections and saw to it that regional political party, namely National Conference, emerged victorious. They wanted that in order to mitigate problems of daily life arising out of nine years of past history, a civilian government run by local representatives is brought to the scene. It will be noted that the people of Kashmir did not vote any national level party to power. This achievement went to the regional party. It could also be taken as an expression of peoples' desire to maintain their identity separate from India. The people made use of the limit of expression available to them if the elections was for independence, India or Pakistan, a majority would have voted in favour of independence."

However, powerful quarters were either silent on these elections or demonstrated a positive response. For example, the British Foreign office sent this reply to Chowdhury Allah Ditta, Chairman all Party Kashmir Coordination Committee, "Voting has taken place in a comparatively peaceful atmosphere and according to the foreign office, turn out has been about 53 per cent." Apart from this, a few Congressmen and MPs stress upon a bilateral talk between the two countries after Kashmir elections had been concluded. According to a news item of London-based *Jung*, it was alleged that the US Under Secretary of State Robin Raphel had accused Pakistan of reluctance in agreeing to a dialogue with India on

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Kashmir question. In any case, a positive aspect of these elections to the Kashmiri nationalists is that religious extremists had made a formidable propaganda campaign that the people of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh being non-Muslim, would like to remain away from the valley. As such, they thought that Jammu and Ladakh regions may be given to India and the valley of Kashmir be made free. But out of a total tally of 37 votes, NC and its allies got 22 seats in Jammu region and in Ladakh, it grabbed 3 out of 4 seats. According to international press agencies and private sources, more than 50 per cent votes were cast in Jammu and Ladakh regions. In this way, the people of both the regions expressed their desire of maintaining the territorial unity of Jammu and Kashmir besides showing solidarity with the valley of Kashmir. However, the opposition has levelled charges of malpractices with regard to the assembly and parliamentary elections. They have given very amusing data of Lok Sabha elections which is as this: BJP was shown as having polled 40,000 votes from Anantnag, 35011 from Srinagar and 12,261 from Baramulla districts. The reality is that BJP almost does not even exist in these areas.

What can be the reasons for no serious public reaction to the scenario of elections having taken place and many sacrifices having been made. Reaction has to be understood in the sense that when a community sacrifices its youth for nine long years and without having achieved the objectives for which sacrifices were made, it is involved in elections which it allows to take place. If sentiments, prejudices, ego and jealousy are cast aside and dispassionate analysis is made keeping in view nothing but national interests, then that analysis should be something like what is stated below.

It would be only proper to examine and evaluate these elections not only in the background of ongoing situation in Kashmir but also in the light of happenings in South Asia especially the deteriorating internal situation in Afghanistan. Pakistan's military rulers and their contemporary Kashmir agents had promised to liberate Kashmir from India within six months and then integrate it into Pakistan. Militancy leadership and former politicians, (I mean those politicians who were pro-India before the rise of militancy and used to participate fully in elections in the state) also induced the people of Kashmir to indulge in the wishful thinking that world opinion could be built in return of sacrifices or by citing the example of Afghanistan and registering support from Pakistan and Muslim countries. The presence of nearly 18 crore Muslims in India was easily forgotten, and the movement was made exclusive to 30 lakh Muslims of Kashmir valley to hinge on religious fervour. Without adopting a well planned programme, the people of the

valley of Kashmir were asked to make sacrifices far beyond the scope of their strength and perseverance. While sacrifice after sacrifice continued to be made by the Kashmiris, neither the world opinion could be built in its favour nor did the Pakistani army come to Kashmir to liberate the land. Neither did any Muslim country take any concrete and perceptible step towards extending support to Kashmir movement nor did they adopt a policy of mounting pressure on India. What is more, trade and commerce between India and Saudi Arabia went on increasing year after year, and in 1995 - 96, it touched 2.38 billion rials. The US and European countries also anchored their relations with India in bilateral trade.

Kashmiri youth, having received training for a few days get killed by the bullets of the Indian security forces. Pakistani and Kashmir politicians managed to take the entire community of Kashmiris as hostages to their farcical exercise either at Geneva or with regard to OIC and by the resolutions of the United Nations. The Kashmiris were made to lay sacrifice after sacrifice. The fact is that neither the leadership tried to analyse the problems of the community minute by minute in the light of changing situation of the world nor did they re-adjust their tactics in the field of action taking into view of enemy's strategies. Then shaped an amusing scene. The persons called mujahideen until yesterday, were now seen joining the Indian security forces allowing the blood of Kashmiri youth to be shed by their own compatriots in the streets and lanes of Kashmir. But Kashmiri leadership within the valley, instead of taking into cognizance the prevailing conditions, and analysing them carefully, charted the slogan for strike after strike. It spelt disaster for Kashmir's economy. What was more, the militants began hurling hand-grenades on roads, lanes and other sites which made it very difficult for the civil life to discharge its function regularly. And whatever could escape the hands of the militants was destroyed by the Indian security forces as a measure of revenge. Thus without any concrete programme and without a disciplined movement, a heavy burden of sacrifices was placed on Kashmiri people. No restriction could be imposed on unbridled militancy with the result that the gun went into the hands which used it for personal aggrandisement. We see kidnapping for ransom, personal vendetta, husband-wife confrontation and many other peripheral matters including ideological differences becoming the issues to which the gun-wielding youth began to address. For trivialities and insignificant matters, the gun became the arbiter. Gun-wielding criminals forcibly seized the property of minority community. Kashmir has been pushed into an era of darkness.

On the other hand, Pakistani leaders and politicians, who incite sentiments of Kashmiris in the name of Islam and religion, continued their policy of pitting people against one another in the name of sects and

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groups in Karachi and elsewhere, and blood baths continued even by attacking the praying people in the mosques. Alike what Indian security forces are doing in Kashmir. Pakistani security forces arrested people in Karachi and then, as a result of custodial deaths, flung their dead bodies on the road side. (It shall be reminded that after dismissing Benazir Bhutto, President Leghari levelled the charge of extra-judicial murders in Karachi against her regime). In Afghanistan, the Afghans themselves, acting in the name of Islam and religion, converted their country into ruins.

All these events took place within the sight of Kashmiris. Apart from what they might have heard, today's electronic media brings hour to hour news to all parts of the world. No succour was provided to the arrested youth languishing in jails just because there was no organised movement. The conditions have come to a pass where the parents or brothers and sisters of the detainees cannot pay them a visit in the jails because they are financially too weak to bear the expenses of travel. On the other hand, as these events unfolded in Kashmir some militancy leaders raised magnificent private buildings. In the name of opening offices, they invested anything between 40 and 60 lakh rupees on these palatial mansions. The irony was that these leaders doing out sermons of unity to the people, themselves indulged in general loot. In order to escape criticism, they began mud-slinging on one another. Whenever militants gave a rough deal to the people, or murdered respectable citizens and senior political figures, they brought the charge to the doorsteps of the security forces. This led to the unleashing of the militants and made them secure against accountability for their criminal acts.

The situation, naturally, threw up elections as the viable solution of the problems to suffering masses. No doubt, at many places in districts of Srinagar, Anantnag and Baramulla complete strike was observed with hardly 7 per cent people casting their votes, but in the rest of Kashmir, people came out in large numbers to exercise their franchise so that the average was anything between 20 and 25 per cent. In Tangmarg, the constituency of Dr. Mustafa Kamal, he did not leave the place during last nine years and treated the patients. It needs to be emphasised that Kashmiri leadership made a Himalayan blunder by following the psychology of Pakistani politicians and rulers which means acting against the psychology of the masses. In a sense people everywhere across the world have the same psychology. It makes them draw clear plan and programme for obtaining a definite purpose. If the masses of people feel attraction in this programme and are prepared to accept it conscientiously, then they would be prepared to make sacrifices for the

realisation of that specific programme. In return, leadership makes the people feel in their day to day life that their sacrifices are leading inch by inch towards the realisation of their goal. Collectively people are always a conscious lot, and as such they have full understanding of success or failure of the effort they make to achieve the goals.

What happened in Kashmir is something like this. In the first place, the people were never offered any unified programme under one party and one leader and one slogan. And then, a number of outfits mushroomed overnight. Even pro-accession organisations were several in number and then the common man got nothing but strikes and death and destruction. Internally, those claiming to be at the helm of leadership, fell apart day in and day out; they began hurling allegations on one another. APHC came out with no fewer than 14 allegations against Hilal Baig to the extent of calling him an 'agent'. We may have many differences with Hilal Baig; we may have differences with his action model, even he too became a sacrificial goat to the phantasies and dreams. At last, at the hands of the Indian security forces, he was done to death and his body was thrown on the roadside. Thereafter Hurriyat people began organising a condolence meeting on Idgah grounds. A close associate of APHC was gunned down by a Hizbul Mujahideen activist. Within three months, the widow of the slain person came to our office (MANWA) with a request for assistance. This is the fate of those activists who are close to the organisation. And about the common man, the less said the better.

At the same time such international support as would have precipitated resolution of Kashmir tangle was not forthcoming. Not only that, Kashmir question was dropped from the agenda of the Security Council. With great effort, the forum agreed to consider the case on year to year basis. The story of dropping Kashmir question from the agenda of the Security Council is amusing as well as instructive. In order to bring any issue on the agenda of the Security Council or to take out from it, much preliminary effort needs to be done and many formalities need to be fulfilled. A notice is given in good advance on which thorough debate takes place. A decision is arrived at through casting of votes. Pakistani mission at the UN did not know anything about the exclusion of Kashmir from the agenda till the final decision was taken. On the third day, a Pakistani diplomat came to know through a press correspondent's question that Kashmir issue had been dropped from the agenda. Then Pakistan was aroused from deep slumber. In an interview given to *Jung Forum*, Sardar Qayyum Khan said, "India has won a victory on Kashmir issue in the Security Council. She has de-internationalised it. Those who say that the question has been brought back, are under self-delusion. It

has come back with conditions. Now each year, we shall have to make an application."

Through their misdeeds, the militants helped equate the actions of Indian security forces with their own at the Human Rights Commission. Militant leadership could not make the minority, meaning Kashmiri Pandits, agree to return to Kashmir. This, too, was a big setback to our movement. Apart from all this, there is also Pakistan's non-acceptance of the 'Third Option'. Pakistani rulers and politicians have reiterated a number of times on international fora that they are not in favour of the third option. Another factor which has disillusioned people about militancy is the burning of religious shrines, torching of school and college buildings, bridges and other structures which means destruction of such infrastructure serves public interests. One may try a thousand times to convince outsiders that the school buildings, bridges and college complexes were torched by the security forces, but insiders who were physically involved in the struggle and from whom sacrifices were sought in return of golden dreams, they know it well as to who did what. Thus it is on the basis of action that common people are prepared either to make further sacrifices or seek complete isolation from the struggle and become nothing more than disinterested spectators. In this process people become weary of continued struggle. The enemy employs the strategy of wearing out the adversary creating confusion in his ranks and finally, out of sheer frustration, forcing him to ask for a compromise. A sagacious and far-sighted leadership feels the pulse of the masses with each passing hour. It has excellent comprehension of the psyche of the masses and demands sacrifices from them in a way which would be commensurate with the conditions prevailing at the moment. The people emphatically betrayed the symptoms of weariness. They did not make any palpable demonstration against the elections. Even in spite of a boycott call given by the APHC, the people under the sentiment of 'crown or the cross', came out of their houses. There certainly were sporadic incidents of boycott here or there but the truth is that people, by and large, became only spectators. On the other hand, Indian politicians, bureaucracy and Indian establishment, keeping in view larger interests of their country, helped National Conference to a definite success and pressed into service all possible means to that end. One political analysis that could be made was that National Conference's winning of two-third majority in the assembly had been pre-determined. Furthermore, in order to ensure integrity of Kashmir unit, NC's success in Jammu and Ladakh regions was meticulously engineered. The event of Dr. Karan Singh's son joining National Conference has its own significance. For sixty years in the past, the two houses of Maharaja and the Sheikh remained antagonistic to each other. Now with Dr. Karan Singh's son joining NC, the entire

situation has taken a new turn. Likewise, alliance of Maulavi Iftikhar Husain Ansari with NC also lent further strength and consolidation to NC. It appears that all these achievements were made as a result of some meticulous planning so that with the two-third strength in the assembly, NC could bring the legislation for autonomy of the state. Once the assembly passes it, the parliament will be obliged to pass it because in accordance with the constitution of the State, that is the legal position.

At the oath taking ceremony, Dr. Farooq Abdullah said in charged mode: "I shall shed the last drop of my blood for India." This was not well received by the Kashmiris and many conscientious Indians. For nine years in the past, Kashmiri youth have been facing death and destruction; Kashmiri Pandits are destitutely living in dismal conditions in the refugee camps; the dragon of destruction has spread its fangs in each Kashmiri family. Dr. Farooq Abdullah should have shed a tear for all of them so that he could have created an impression of oneness with Kashmiris. Even serious sections of NC cadres, too, have not shown any appreciation of Dr. Farooq Abdullah's oath ceremony antics. What remains to be seen now is the relationship between the state and the centre in the sense whether it is going to instil hope in ordinary Kashmiris that there is definite change in ground realities after the elections to the assembly have been completed and new government sworn in. In simpler terms, it would mean whether unemployed will find job opportunities; whether people will be secured against the oppression of armed militants and security forces; whether destroyed school and college buildings, bridges and other public buildings are repaired or rebuilt; whether the bureaucracy is working without fear to address the problems facing the people; whether National Conference not succumbing to chaos and corruption as in pre-militancy days, addressed the enormous task ahead; whether the autonomy committee presided over by Dr. Karan Singh can bring back pre-1952 position; whether NC government orders release of jailed youth unconditionally; whether the government draws concrete plans to solve emotional and real problems of the alienated youth; whether he displaced Pandit minority is brought back and resettled in their homes? The real and major impression which the people would want the NC government to create is whether it is able to bring back at least pre-1953 position after so many sacrifices have been made. If NC government is able to make achievements in the shortest possible time, say within a period of two years, then the people will think that after nine long years of sweat and blood they have here an opportunity for a respite. Only after examining the positive and concrete programme of its leadership, will the people feel inclined to put their mite into the realisation of the objective which is complete independence.

But inspite of all this, will real peace dawn upon the State? There are a number of reasons why Pakistani rulers, its intelligence agencies and her politicians may never give up their claim to the valley. In order to sustain their claim, they will invest hundreds of millions of rupees in subversion and continued armed militancy. However, the question of the people in the valley giving logistic support to the armed militancy depends on solving or not solving the internal problems in Kashmir. It should be noted that now Kashmiris have begun to believe in '*satyagraha*' and civil disobedience instead of armed militancy. Secondly, POK politicians will strive every nerve to keep Kashmir issue alive because their politics, power and means of living, all area closely connected with this issue. Only by keeping this question alive can they go on exploiting the people of PoK. By exuding Kashmir rhetoric and diatribes, these mandarins make sure that the youth of Gilgit, Baltistan and POK do not rise to demand solution to their serious problems of unemployment, hunger and deprivation. Thirdly, unless those people who left for POK in 1947, are allowed to return to the places of their origin with honour and dignity, they would see to it that Kashmir pot is kept simmering. They will not have the slightest compunction if blasts take place in the valley day in and day out spilling the blood of innocent youth. In particular, assembly and National Conference members will be made the target of violence and attacks in order to spread fear and destabilisation of normal life. They will very much like that the scenario of 1989 - 90 is repeated forcing assembly members and NC workers to abandon their places and posts. Evidently, this situation will call for retaliation with the result that an atmosphere of oppression and tyranny is once again let loose. I personally know that people living outside Kashmir, with self-aggrandisement, have been giving such instructions to the miscreants saying, "Keep alive blasts and militancy. Let the world smell blood each day." They would see to it that nothing by the name of peace and security exists in Kashmir. When there is no peace, the problems will not be solved.

This is the reason why we have been, time and again, stressing upon the point that the only solution to Kashmir tangle is that free and fair elections under the supervision of impartial international body is held in the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir meaning on both sides of the cease - fire line, providing opportunity to the elected members on both the sides to sit together with Indian and Pakistani official representatives to find a permanent solution. As long as the question remains unsolved, India and Pakistan will be spending billions of rupees on their defence programmes and the resultant piling up of their serious internal problems. This could also, ultimately, lead to a big armed conflagration.

In such a situation can anybody prevent sudden upsurge of religious extremism in South Asia?

We are already witnessing the appearance of Taliban in Afghanistan, a country which has been reduced to ruins. What is very distressing about it is that Taliban are fixing the label of Islam upon their acts which are not permitted by Islam. Islam is a humanist religion caring for the welfare of mankind and peace on earth. Taliban have closed the doors of education upon women although the Prophet of Islam (PBUH) has directed the *ummah* to acquire knowledge. There is no condition of sex in these instructions.

The London - based newspaper *Jung* graphically describing how Taliban brought destruction to their country, wrote in its issue of October 23, 1996 under the caption 'Civil war . . . Afghanistan loses its past as well' as this: Afghanistan has lost its past as well in the civil war. Historical monuments, buildings and magnificent places have become targets of guns. Even the national museum, too, has become a heap of rubble. Valuable objects of national pride are destroyed or sold or looted." *The Times* of London wrote that there are very few countries in the world which, like Afghanistan, are looted by its own people. The national museum of Afghanistan had a collection of the rarest of artifacts which represented the cultural history of Iran, India, China, Central Asia and other adjoining parts of the world. The Russians had shown respect to this cultural wealth but the mujahideen, who enjoyed the support of the Americans, considered these rare artifacts as hard cash. They broke open the vaults and looted them and sold them to buyers from all over the world. Armed men filled bags with pre-historic terracotta finds as if it was chinaware. There were objects made of Indian jade of second century B.C. which had decorated the coffers of royalty; icons were carried all the way to Pakistan and sold at throw-away price. To the north - east of Kabul there was a rich find of forty thousand coins belonging to prehistoric times. This treasure has now disappeared. In this general loot of the richest cultural heritage, Afghan and Pakistani politicians were the prime actors. A magnificent mosque stood by the tomb of Babur. It is now in ruins."

These are the achievements of those who claim to have served Islam. Now the Afghans themselves say that Russians were far better for them. In earlier days, Jamaat-e-Islami activists would eulogise Afghan revolution with great fervour. After the withdrawal of the Russians, the Afghan revolution is no more a revolution but a civil war. If this is revolution - in which all those things which are meant to provide comfort to the people; mosques are targeted for gun fire and national heritage is

looted without remorse — then that revolution is not what we opt for. Those who are supporting Afghan and foreign mercenaries in Kashmir, only support the destruction of Kashmir. A people who can turn their own country into ruins, will have no qualms of conscience in destroying the cultural heritage of Kashmiris. Mast Gul turned the shrine of Nund Rishi into ruins and thus laid the foundation of Afghan culture in Kashmir. It may be reminded that Taliban force comprises those people who have been receiving religious education in Pakistani seminaries from their early age. They are being trained to follow different theological schools and sects. They are told that every other sect among the Muslims other than their own is of infidels and atheists. Therefore, for these hardened fundamentalists, killing a brother Muslim is not any big sin rather a virtue. Taliban have been raised by Pakistani ISI and equipped with guns, tanks, aeroplanes and made to attack Afghanistan. A report was published in *The Times* of London of November 4, 1996. This was based on an interview with those who, while fighting with Taliban, were captured by Ahmad Shah Masu'd's men. They are Pakistani nationals. The paper reported that ISI had formed an organization by the name of Islamic Para Military Unit composed of Pakistani nationals and based at Kulty in Punjab. Ahmad Shah Masood's troops had captured 26 Pakistanis fighting in alliance with Taliban belonging to this organization. It has also been reported that American intelligence agency CIA has been collaborating with ISI in Taliban affair because Taliban are vehemently opposed to Iran. Taliban victory in Afghanistan could be turned into a base against Iran in future. On the other hand, some countries in the neighbourhood of Afghanistan, are also trying to extend their sphere of influence by providing assistance to various groups among whom Ahmad Shah Masood and General Dostum top the list.

Central Asian States are apprehensive of Taliban adventures as they think this could incite extremism in their respective countries. In any case, Iran would like that Taliban area contained in Afghanistan. Before capturing Kabul, Taliban had done great harm to the pro-Iranian group namely Hizb-e-Wahdat and had killed its leader. Iranians understand that in case of Taliban succeeding in their mission in Afghanistan, the US would find an opportunity of creating another Iraq against them in the region. Thus Iranians are trying to respond to this move by strengthening contacts with the neighbouring countries so that the US is prevented from making deeper inroads into this part of the Asian continent. There is some talk of restoration of peace in Afghanistan. In the past, these mujahideen had taken an oath in the Mecca to work for peace. These promises were broken only after five days of their making. Return of peace to Afghanistan should not be expected for a long time to come. There is a very possibility that in future

Afghanistan will be fragmented among Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Pushtoons. Although division along these ethnic lines does exist even today but that is not a formal situation as yet.

The scenario can present a threat to Pakistan. If Afghanistan is divided into three parts, then the Pushtoons of NWFP and Balochistan in Pakistan area may likely to join Afghan Pushtoons and launch a struggle for Greater Pushtoonistan. However, this danger can be real only when the Pushtoons base their struggle on national question. This may not be totally impossible because such people in NWFP and Afghanistan as would struggle on the basis of Pushtoon nationality are present and strong. They hold Pakistan responsible for the present crisis in Afghanistan as also for the fratricidal war among the Pushtoons. It is surprising that while the US and some western countries are raising a hue and carry against extremism in Algeria or against even low profile activism in other parts of the world, they have chosen to remain silent in the case of Afghanistan. The fact is that a fairly large number of countries have interest in Afghanistan. They have adopted a policy of wait and see. Through their regional surrogates, they continue to provide assistance to the fighting groups in Afghanistan.

However, this being the tragic situation, all that we can do is to pray for the welfare of Afghan people as we pray for our own people as well. We also pray for the people of Pakistan, a country where, after every two or three years, Prime Minister is sent packing. Muhammad Khan Junejo had been in the office of Prime Minister for just three years when in May 1988, General Zia dismissed him on alleged charges of corruption and maladministration. Zia was killed in an air crash and Ghulam Ishaq Khan invited PPP leader Benazir Bhutto to form the government after her party had won majority vote in the elections. But allowing her to be in office for barely 20 months (October 1988 to December 1990), Ishaq Khan dismissed her government again on the alleged charges of corruption, misuse of power, nepotism and maladministration. Fresh elections were held and the government of Muslim League (N) led by Nawaz Sharif was installed. It may be reminded that in the elections of 1990, a rumour was floated days before the actual polling took place that the PPP would get 54 to 55 seats. This was precisely what the results were.

The strategy adopted by Nawaz Sharif to oust Benazir from power within 20 months was repeated by Benazir Bhutto and her party during the two and a half years of Nawaz Sharif's stint. She launched a protest campaign against Nawaz Sharif and joined hands with her none-too-sympathetic President Ishaq Khan. The charges brought against

Nawaz Sharif were precisely the same as were levelled against her. Mr. Moin Qureshi was imported from the US to grace the office of prime minister. In the fresh elections, PPP once again won a majority vote. Benazir Bhutto began her second stint in 1993. She chose a close associate and friend of her late father, a faithful member of PPP and a feudal lord of Punjab, Farooq Leghari, as the President of Pakistan. Naturally, she had reposed full faith in her late father's friend and party activist as the President of Pakistan. She had thought that President Leghari would not take recourse to the eighth amendment to Pakistan constitution empowering the President to dismiss the popularly elected Prime Minister.

But Pakistani President cannot do anything outside the parameters set forth by the generals. As such, he too, using the eighth constitutional amendment instrument, dismissed Benazir from power slapping the patent charges of corruption, extrajudicial killings in Karachi etc. To allege that MQM workers were killed by the military authorities and Benazir in collaboration is perhaps a mechanism to add insult to injury as far as MQM is concerned; the purpose being that of reducing MQM's resistance strength and bringing them back into the mainstream by bringing the onus of their alienation to the doorsteps of Benazir.

State - sponsored terrorism has spread its tentacles so deep in Pakistan that even the brother of benazir, Mir Murtaza Bhutto, was gunned down by the police. The sub-inspector involved in this killing was also slain. Mir Murtaza Bhutto was an innocent person. He had made a long struggle to establish the sacrifices made by his late father and to popularise his own ideas. But unfortunately he fell a victim to the internal court intrigues and dissensions in Pakistan.

In South Asia, the Taliban, meting out un-Islamic treatment to Najibullah, killed him in a brutal manner. He was showered with a volley of bullets and then his dead body was kept hanging for three days by the branch of a tree. This is how the dead body of a Musalman was dishonoured. The question may be asked: according to which principles of Islam, according to which tradition the dead bodies of two Muslims were kept hanging from the tree without having responded to the norms of natural justice? In Algeria, the Islamists forcibly entered the private houses and killed nearly 30 women and children. In the name of Islam, bestiality is being spread. These acts of barbarism have helped create a sense of hatred against the Muslims world over. Muslims will have to fight against such people as are supporting perpetration of barbarism and are demolishing Islam's lofty value system failing which this deadly

poison will claim casualties in each and every Muslim house. Along with South Asia, the entire world will fall a prey to hatred, prejudice and sectarianism. This will consume not only human beings but humanism itself.

Diemen, November 7, 1996

Chapter 15

THE TRAGEDY OF KASHMIRI PANDITS

Kashmir history is five thousand years old. In the course of time, many invaders from outside led incursions into Kashmir. Recurrent turmoils within, too, have been part of her destiny. However, inter-community clashes did not show their ugly face as engrained culture. There is hardly any substantial historical evidence to prove that in a complex society people belonging to majority religious group compassed extirpation or decimation of a minority group.

Islam in Kashmir

Islam came to Kashmir in about A.D.1330 - 1339. Again there is no evidence to show that Islam was forcibly thrust on the people of Kashmir. Of course from the accounts given by Kalhana, and later on by Jonaraja, in *Rajatarangini*, one can find that Hindu society of those days was groaning under the burden of superficialities while the ruling class was engrossed in court conspiracies in order to keep itself saddled in the seat of power. The upper strata of society, intoxicated with power and identifying itself with the ruling class, had been isolated from the wider Kashmirian milieu. Tyrannical caste system had almost rent the social fabric into shreds. Continuous in-fighting and dissensions had sapped economic resources of the state.

In the background of this socio-political landscape of early mediaeval period, Islam was brought to Kashmir by the sufis like Bulbul Shah and Shah Hamadan. This opened the floodgates of revolt against oppressive caste system, revolution against social taboos and acceptance of a new faith based on social equality and fraternity. In his

Rajatarangini, Jonaraja writes about Sultan Shahabu'd-Din Shahmiri as this: "the ancestors of Shahabu'd-Din came to Kashmir from the regions of Swat. They were the descendents of Pandavas and had converted to Islam."

A careful study of history reveals that one of the major reasons of not forcing conversion on people in Kashmir was that the ancestors of her rulers were themselves closely connected either with Hinduism or Buddhism. During his visit to Kashmir, the Mughal Emperor Jehangir was surprised to observe the coexistence and common life style of Kashmiri Hindus (Pandits) and Muslims. He writes in his memoirs, viz. *Tuzak - Jehangiri*, "I do not understand what type of Musalmans are found in Kashmir because there appears no difference between them and Kashmiri Hindus. They share each others' customs and traditions to the extent that they celebrate feasts together."

At Nagabal spring in Anantnag, there is a temple of the Hindus, a gurudwara of the Sikhs and a mosque of the Muslims (built by Dara Shikoh). What a glaring proof of religious toleranace. In far off villages in Ladakh region, we find members of one family adhering to different faiths at one and the same time. All of them live in peace and amity. If a couple is not of common faith, the son adopts his father's religion and the daughter that of her mother. This means that in Kashmir conversion from one religion to another never meant nursing hatred and ill will against any religion. Conversion took place, but surnames (*zaat*) remained the same. Among Muslim in the valley today we have Butt, Koul, Raina, Teng, Munshi, Mahajan, Pandith and many more common *zaat* among Muslims and Hindus. In some cases slight variations have been affected such as Dhar becomes Dar, Rathore become Rather, Lavanya becomes Lone, etc. This shows that Kashmiri Pandits are our own flesh and blood. Centuries ago, our and their ancestors were brothers from the same blood. In terms of race, the same blood runs in our veins.

When Islam came to Kashmir and received support of the state, the Pandits learnt Persian- now the official language- while many Muslims continued with Sanskrit. For a long time during early Muslim period, both Sanskrit and Persian languages continued to be in use. We still find bilingual tomb-stones in the graveyard near Bahau'd-Din Sahib locality in Nowhatta, Srinagar. In Sharda, there was a famous university where learning was imparted in both Sanskrit and Persian languages. The sufis of Muslims were the rishis of the Hindus. Shiekh Nooru'd-Din, the patron saint of Chrar-e-Sharif was the Nund Rishi of Pandits. A stone wall of Khanqah-e-Mu'alla in Srinagar was reserved for the Pandits to

which they applied vermillion after their ancient tradition. The hospice (khanqah) and tomb of Makhdum Sahib at the foot of the Hari Parbat hillock stand adjacent to the Chakreshwar temple of Hindus.

Sages and savants like Lal Ded and Nund Rishi, gifted with spiritual light as they were, taught Kashmiris of all hues and faiths the eternal lesson of virtue, brotherhood humanism and tolerance. In the course of her history, Kashmir was visited by many tragedies, natural and man-made; famines and floods, earthquakes and blizzards, invasions and insurgencies, but none of these could shake peoples' faith in coexistence and religious tolerance. From historical record, it is evidenced that the Pandits never made the issue of conversion of their brothers, neighbours, relatives and coreligionists a source of enmity and irritation. We are reminded that during the initial days of Islam, Omar ibn Khattab tyrannised his sister and her husband for embracing Islam. It is a different story that later on the same Omar ibn Khattab became famous and known by the name Omar Farooq. (God's grace be with him) We have seen that usually on faring good-bye to the faith of ancestors, a storm is stirred in societies polluting the entire environment. Nothing of this sort is presented by Kashmir history. The reason for this unique phenomenon is that Islam came to Kashmir through sufis, saints and humanist missionaries and not by those who wanted to please the ruling circles and invaders. No Kashmiri Pandit ever went to any emperor or ruler outside Kashmir with the complaint of rapid conversion of people in Kashmir to Islamic faith exhorting him to set out on an expedition of the land.

Subjugation

Perhaps it will not be distortion of history to state that if at all the chains of slavery were cast on the people of Kashmir—slavery of external adventurists—those responsible for it were the people of majority group. During the reign of Yusuf Shah Chak, a Kashmiri delegation headed by Shiekh Ya'qub Sarfi arrived in the court of Akbar and prompted him to invade Kashmir. This was the first serious and effective attempt of opening Kashmirian society to malignant external interference. This invitation was extended by none other than Kashmiris themselves because at that time state power rested in the hands of the Shias. We should not forget that our four hundred year old slavery, shifting from Mughals to Pathans, to Sikhs and to the British, finally culminated in our sale to an autocratic ruler for a paltry sum of seventy-five lakh rupees.

Today this slavery exists in the aftermath of the division of Kashmir. This current slavery began as a sequel to communal trends among

the Muslims of Kashmir which drove them to invite external forces to launch an attack on their land. Their intransigence bodes catastrophe for their future generations with subjugation to tyranny, oppression, exoduses and exiles. Today the sword of a destructive war hangs on the heads of more than twelve hundred million people of the sub-continent. History never spares nations for their irretrievable mistakes unless the nations themselves resolve again and again not to repeat them.

Side by side with the Muslims of the state, Kashmiri Pandit youth receiving education in Lahore also joined the struggle against the autocratic rule of the Dogras. Since the Pandits were an educated class from early times, they had occupied good administrative positions in the Dogra rule. This should induce us to make a psychological dissection of the Pandit mind as to why it always opposed settlement of outsiders in the valley. It were the Pandit official circles in Dogra administration and the Pandit community at large, who had advised the ruler to introduce the State Subject law in the State. We know that at that point of time, people from Punjab and Bengal had begun to enter the organs of the state, and with that, purchasing land and property in the valley had become a temptation. The same State Subject law later on assumed the shape of Article 370 in the Indian Constitution.

Communal harmony under test

Though both Hindus and Muslim became victims of atrocities perpetrated by the tribals during their attack on Kashmir in 1947, yet the Hindus and the Sikhs suffered the worst. The tribals branded them as "kafir" (infidels) and made them the target of their rapacity. The Hindus and Sikhs were totally decimated and extirpated from Gilgit, Baltistan and the towns of POK like Muzaffarabad, Poonch, Kotli and Mirpur. Of course the Pandits and Sikhs who escaped with their lives in the rural areas of the valley, Baramulla, Uri, Sopor etc. could do so only through the support extended to them by their Muslim neighbours and friends. And when the Muslims of the valley rallied to put up stiff resistance to the tribal invaders, the Pandit leadership joined hands with the resistance force. Among those leaders the names of Pandit Kashyapa Bandhu, Sham Lal Saraf, Prem Nath Bazaz, D.P. Dhar and many others stand out prominently. Their main concern was protection of Kashmir, their motherland, and her culture of humanism.

For the 1947 tribal attack on Kashmir, we have an excellent source in Margaret Brook White, the American journalist who had accompanied the attacking tribals. In her work *Half Way to Freedom* she wrote, "Buses and trucks of the tribals fully loaded with looted property

came in a day or two to carry back more Pathans for a loot of Kashmir. Repeating their exercise of "liberating Kashmiri Muslim brethren" they looted Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and peasants, one and all without distinction of religion and community."

Positive contribution

It should be reminded that at a time when (in 1947 - 48) human beings had turned beastly in the sub-continent, it was only Kashmir where the flame of humanism flickered. In Muzaffarabad, Hindu and Sikh women and children had sought refuge in the house of Master Abdul Aziz. When the barbaric tribals barged into his house to massacre the hapless refugees, Master Abdul Aziz stood up to them saying that they could as well kill him but not the innocent people seeking refuge in his house. He asked what justification was there in a bid to take these lives. He asked that they called themselves the standard bearers of an Islamic state but did Islam permit killing of innocent children and aged women? The barbarians dragged the hapless refugees as well as Master Abdul Aziz to the river bank and gunned them down one and all. This carnage has been recorded also by Shiekh Muhammad Abdullah in his biography *Atash-e-Chinar*.

Youthful volunteers of Kashmir Militia laid down their lives while resisting communal madness in district Doda. Som Nath Beera and Pushker Nath Zadoo, two illustrious Kashmiri Pandits and sons of the soil, stand out very prominently. They fell martyrs while protecting the defenceless majority community there. It should not go unnoticed that in 1948, Mehar Chand Mahajan and his lieutenant R.K. Batra had, prior to the tribal attack, tried to seduce Kashmiri Pandits into accepting arms to rise against the majority community in the valley. But Kashmiri Pandit leadership refused to accept arms and ammunition saying that more than arms, they needed the good - will of majority community. This episode also finds space in Shiekh Muhammad Abdullah's biography. Thus the Pandit leadership of the time, giving a proof of great wisdom and foresight, not only steered their community away from danger but also demonstrated their commitment to the land of their birth as true patriots.

In the sphere of education, Pandits have rendered very valuable service. Their contribution in bringing literacy and education to the majority community in the valley is commendable. Gifted with futuristic vision, the Pandit community, from the very beginning, responded to the social need of restricting birth rate and enforcing family planning. The Pandits always attached importance to providing good education and

training to their children and thus developed as educated community. This is the reason why we found them swarming into educational institutions at all levels, from primary to university classes. No wonder, therefore, that even in Islamia schools and colleges in Kashmir, the strength of Pandit teachers, lecturers and professors was no fewer than 40 per cent. I have no hesitation in stating that while Shiekh Abdullah's educational policy brought the light of literacy to every home in Kashmir, the contribution of the Pandit teachers in opening upon their Muslim compatriots the doors to the realms of knowledge will be written in letters of gold. In their capacity as teachers, we owe a debt of gratitude to the elders of this community. The section of Pandit medicos never lagged behind in rendering most commendable service to fellow Kashmiris. Many Pandit doctors did not leave the valley during the ongoing turmoil despite looming threats. How shameful that a Pandit dental surgeon and his wife who were serving the needy in Srinagar were murdered in cold blood ?

Shortcomings

No minority in any given society can live with honour and dignity and prosper in an atmosphere of security unless its leaders and elders share the joy and pain of the majority group. This was felt by the Pandit leadership as far back as 1947 when they found that it was the valley of Kashmir alone where the majority community took upon itself the task of guarding the houses of the minority community. But the tragedy with the Pandits and their short-sighted leaders is that after the events of 1947, they shifted their loyalties from the masses of Kashmir to the rulers in New Delhi. Barring a few Pandit leaders who bore long incarceration with Shiekh Abdullah, most of the rest pretending to protect the interests of Kashmiri community actually served their own interests. They colluded with some intransigent political leaders in New Delhi and worked against the interests of Kashmir not out of ingrained malice but only to seek personal aggrandisement. These elements became the catalyst in poisoning the minds of the majority community against their own community. Let me reproduce the relevant excerpt from Shiekh Abdullah's biography *Atash-e-Chinar*. He writes, "No other community can even imagine in what great demand the Pandits are in the entire country. In all central government departments in the State, the strength of Kashmiri Pandit employees is 60 to 100 per cent although they do not comprise more than 2.5 per cent of the total population. Therefore if Kashmiri Pandits can create a storm in the country especially in journalistic circles through their undoubted resources, then the rest of their compatriots (Muslim majority) have a justifiable complaint. Is it not possible that along with the logic of the times they keep in mind the

demographic complexion of the state, geographical imperatives and structural considerations of the State. They should not make the New Delhi-entrenched bureaucracy as their destination. Kashmiri Pandits can immensely enrich the State with their potentialities. Instead of weakening its emotional relations with other states, the Pandits can become a strong and dependable bridge between them. Kashmiris rejected the two-nation theory and took the hand of their Pandit brothers into their own. The history has put this responsibility on them that they should not spurn the hand of friendship extended towards them. As they themselves dislike oppression and injustice, their other compatriots also dislike these evils."

A close analysis shows that a few self-styled Kashmiri Pandit leaders, instead of looking for the good-will of the majority community in Kashmir, considered New Delhi as the place of deliverance. At the same time, sections of New Delhi bureaucracy and some political leaders, without making an objective analysis of the prevailing situation, contributed to the deepening of current problems and difficulties of the Pandits. By not trusting the majority group and by appointing Pandits in sensitive places, the community was made suspect in the eyes of the majority community in Kashmir. Ultimately this majority community began to construe of the Pandit fraternity as the watchdogs of Indian interests in Kashmir. This, however, was not the reality. There was lack of proper leadership in Pandit community nor did they have any united policy. Apart from this, the community did not fully participate in political organisations of the state. The result was that they gradually got distanced from the political stage in Kashmir. A sundry Pandit political activist whether in National Conference or in Congress wielded only insignificant influence among community members whom he could not carry along with himself.

It is also alleged that some rabid Hindu communalist organisations outside the State influenced some Kashmiri Pandits and roped them into their organisation. In 1967, the episode of a Pandit girl named Parmeshwari (later on Parveen) marrying a Muslim boy took place in Srinagar. The Pandits gave religious colour to the event which vitiated inter-community relations to some extent. There had been inter-community marriages in Kashmir. Dr. Girija Dhar, a Pandit woman of a very respectable family had married Dr. Naseer, a Muslim also from a notable family of Srinagar. A Kashmiri Muslim lady was married to a Sikh gentleman. In India, innumerable inter-community marriages had been taking place. It should also be mentioned that some of the Pandit families who had shifted to Delhi in 1947 and settled down permanently did not play a healthy role for their community members back home.

They had widened their sphere of influence in New Delhi's bureaucracy and in its political circles. In regard to Kashmir, all that they propagated in these circles was what suited their interests. Kashmir popular leadership always had a complaint against these persons and families which gradually resulted in majority community nursing a grudge against the Pandits. The fundamental reason for this phenomenon was that according to the majority community, the Pandits, placed in an advantageous situation as they were, could have given New Delhi a genuine feel of their difficulties and expectations. The composition of Kashmirian socio-political structure was presented in a distorted manner. The result was that an opportunity was provided to some recalcitrant political leaders in Kashmir to spread hatred against the Pandit community. But at the same time 80 per cent of Pandits living in rural Kashmir held on tenaciously to fraternal relationship with their Muslim neighbours and shared their joys and sorrows.

During the period of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi, a few Kashmiri Pandits reached top positions in Indian bureaucracy. To some extent they, too, shall have to bear the blame for the deterioration of political conditions in Kashmir. In short just as the members of majority community in Kashmir are suffering for the sins of selfish aggrandisement, lust for power and political blackmail by their leaders, so are the innocent Pandits made sacrificial goats at the altar of selfish interests of a few of their intransigent leaders. All this has now culminated in the on-going movement taking to violence and the gun and gunpowder being used for self-destruction.

On-going movement and its tragedy

All religions consider human beings as embodiment of high morals and elevated spirit. But when the same human being abandons the thin veneer of humanly qualities, he emerges as the worst beast imaginable. His victim is one belonging to his own species. Such a beastly being has no religion. He is a symbol of his hatred and bestiality carrying death and destruction wherever he can. Such a destruction stalked Kashmiri society in recent years. Bridges, schools, colleges and residential houses burnt and destroyed can be rebuilt but in order to restore mutual trust and confidence, tremendous sacrifices on both sides shall have to be made. The pride of Kashmir meaning the long and glorious history of communal harmony and peaceful coexistence among people of different faiths has suffered serious damage. Therefore the real task ahead is to restore that history and rebuild the true image of a secular society. This tradition has suffered immense damage owing to Kashmiri Pandits faced with the compulsion of abandoning the land of

their ancestors, their towns and villages in Kashmir. A vicious propaganda has been launched that Governor Jagmohan had induced them to leave their homes and hearths and go out of the valley. It is possible that Jagmohan might have meant this casual briefing for a handful of upper class families of Pandits or a few persons at sensitive administrative positions. But no person in proper frame of senses will accept that the entire community of Kashmiri Pandits left their home and hearth at the behest of Governor Jagmohan. What chased Pandits out of their homeland was the fear of the gun, killing of many of their members, kidnapping and rape of their women. In November 1989, Sheela Tikoo was gunned down near Habba Kadal. On March 4, 1990, Mrs. M.N Paul, the wife of an Inspector of BSF was kidnapped, raped and then murdered. Her crime was that she happened to be the wife of an inspector in BSF. In March 1990, B.K. Ganjoo, an engineer in Telecommunication Department was brutally gunned down while he tried to hide himself in an empty drum used for storing rice. The assailants climbed the third floor of his house to catch hold of him. His wife begged the murderers to kill her too but only to receive the sadist remark, "there should be someone left to cry over his dead body." In the same month in 1990, another Pandit woman was gunned down in her home in Alucha Bagh. In April 1990, a nurse named Sarla Butt was kidnapped and continuously raped for several days before her dead body was thrown on the roadside. In May 1990, Mrs. Prana Ganjoo and her husband Prof. K.L. Ganjoo were kidnapped in Sopor. The woman was raped and then both of them were murdered. In June 1990, a laboratory assistant in Trehgam named Girja was kidnapped, raped and then cut into pieces on a power band-saw. In June 1990, Mrs. J.L. Ganjoo, her husband and her sister-in-law (husband's sister) were killed in their home in Ban Mohalla, Srinagar. In July 1990, a working woman namely Teja Dhar was shot dead on the roadside in Ali Kadal, Srinagar. In July 1990, a Pandit lady named Nanaji was gunned down on the roadside in Batmaloo. In July 1990, Dr. Shani was locked up in her house in Karan Nagar and then the house was set on fire. 'Flames consumed her alive. In August 1990, Babli Raina was raped in front of her family members in her house and then shot dead. I must necessarily mention one particular case which literally butchered the tradition of tolerance and communal harmony as well as the tradition of humanism in Kashmir. On April 30, 1990 four armed persons forced entry into the house of Sarwanand Koul Premi in Anantnag district. They dragged him out of his house along with Virender Koul, his 27-year old son for 'enquiry'. In the nearby jungle, the father and son both were gunned down. Sarwanand Koul, a poet and scholar, was 64 years of age and had translated Bhagwat Gita into Kashmiri. A copy of Quran was preserved in his house which he used to read occasionally.

A ray of hope

No doubt these incidents have tarnished the image of the majority community in Kashmir but at the same time we come across innumerable instances in which Muslims gave shelter to their Pandit neighbours and saved their lives or took them out safely. When the Pandit girl named Rosy of Nai- Sarak and her mother were raped and then together with her father, all the three were gunned down, Kashmiri Muslim women of that locality brought out a protest demonstration on the roads condemning this barbaric act.

These are the events pertaining to the initial stage of the movement in Kashmir when Liberation Front was the only so-called nationalist organization active in Kashmir. At that time there was the talk of independent Kashmir meaning the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir. An activist of this organisation named Bitta Karate confessed having taken the life of 41 persons. In these circumstances it was but natural that the entire Pandit community stood fear-stricken and then followed the impulse of running away from this cauldron. The entire community had lost the confidence in the majority community. Even the lives of the members of majority community as well were no more safe. Let it be reminded that when people came out in protest against the killing of Rosy family of Nai Sarak locality, the armed men fired shots in the air and called the demonstrators as Indian agents.

In fact apart from these criminal elements, religious extremist groups and such leadership of the movement within Kashmir as did not severely punish these elements at the very outset are also liable to be held responsible for frightening Kashmiri Pandits and forcing them to abandon their homes in Kashmir. Some despicable rabids even went to the length of raising the shameful slogans like "*Asih kya getsih Pakistan, Batav begair batneu saan*" (What do we want - Pakistan, without Pandits but with their women). This then was the atmosphere of fear and lawlessness in which the Pandits became homeless. After they had left Kashmir, criminal elements began looting their houses and setting them on fire.

However, even in this state of anarchy, there were many Muslims who managed to send them to Jammu or Delhi (their separated Pandit neighbours) the returns of their orchards, crops and rent of houses and shops. There are also some elements who have illegally taken possession of Pandit properties not on the basis of communal enmity but as a manifestation of lust for booty. Making religion and the movement a pretext, they want to befool ordinary Kashmiris. It is also true that in some cases security forces felled trees belonging to Pandits and stole

timber and other valuable household goods from the abandoned houses of Pandits apportioning the theft to the militants. This means that the entire majority community of Kashmir cannot be held responsible for the loot and arson of the houses of Kashmiri Pandits. The criminal elements who committed all these dastardly acts have neither religion nor a mission nor conscience.

Malevolent elements

Today a group has emerged in Kashmir with the specific mission of arranging the sale of Pandit properties. The group includes some Muslim and Pandit middlemen from Srinagar and Jammu and also some government employees. They propose somebody in Jammu as the owner of abandoned property in Kashmir and forge sale documents. No doubt there are some among the exiled Pandit community who, having lost every hope of their return to Kashmir, found it unavoidable to sell their property. It has also been reported that there are some among the Pandits who gave cash rewards to the criminal elements for setting their houses on fire in the valley and then managing to get its insurance amount. Pandits from the rural Kashmir being essentially small peasants could neither carry their landed property nor the cattle with them when they proceeded on their tragic exile. Most of them are now languishing in several refugee camps where life for them is dismal and dark. Many of them died of snake and scorpion bites in desolate environs of refugee camps in Jammu because in the conditions in which they are living, proper medicare is not available to them. Many more oppressed by intolerable heat to which they were never used, died of sun strokes or were drowned in Ranbir canal or Tawi river while seeking relief from the scorching sun. It is also true that as in the case of majority community, various groups and organisations within and outside the country collected enormous funds in the name of suffering masses, both Hindus and Muslims, only to fill their coffers and become millionaires on the dead bodies of Kashmiris. Hindu religious extremist organisations in India also exploited the plight of Kashmiri Pandits obliging them with the free gift of a blanket or a bucket. In this way entire social structure of Kashmir began falling apart. There were elements which would not like the Pandits to pass their days of exile in a little comfort in Jammu. Their honour was subjected to molestation. Anybody wishing to see the misery with which these displaced Pandits are afflicted should pay a visit to one of their 52 camps. A few Pandit families who chose to remain in the valley are no less fear stricken. For the Muslims of Kashmir, H.N. Wanchoo was a significant symbol in the context of their human rights. He too was not spared by the communalists.

In 1997, male members of seven Pandit families in Sangrampora were drawn out of their homes and killed in cold blood and in 1998, twenty- three(23) Kashmiri Pandits including women and children in Ganderbal on January the 26 was gunned down in a barbaric way. This horrendous carnage made very humanism hide its face and Kashmiris, wherever they were, had to hang their heads in shame.

"These kind of unhuman and barbaric actions are not only gross violation of human rights but also action of wild boar against humanity, it proofs, that these kind of people who are killing women, men and childrens are enemies of the Kashmiri people and enemies of the Kashmiri struggle. Actions like, blowing up human bodies and burning down the religious worships should be called " ACT OF BEAST AGAINST CIVILISED PEOPLE ".

But even in this hour of darkness, the ray of hope was not totally extinguished. The members of majority community openly condemned these barbaric acts and shared the pain and grief of the bereaved families. They came in large groups to express their condolence. A shining example of keeping intact the tradition of communal harmony in Kashmir is that our social welfare branch MANWA extended monetary assistance to the sufferers of this tragedy. The bereaved families were greatly consoled when they found Shabbir Ahmad Shah come to assuage their ruffled feelings.

What brings a nation to the brink of destruction is communal strife within. If we turn the pages of the past history of Kashmir, we will find that it was communal strife which dragged her into slavery. Strife among various sects in contemporary Afghanistan is threatening that nation with total annihilation. Shia-Sunni clashes in Pakistan have brought the security forces to stand guard on mosques. The embattled sects do not hesitate to kill people even in God's house.

It is the same communal virus which is out to destroy Kashmiri culture and what we call Kashmiriyat. Included in these elements are (i) the people who want to illegally possess the property of the minority community (ii) those who want to grab the posts of Pandit government employees (iii) those fanatically communal parties who, in order to please their mentors, do not want the Pandits to return (iv) external agencies and such policy planners of ISI as are dreaming of annexing Kashmir (v) those Hindu communal groups who want to use Kashmiri Pandits for their selfish motives and would not in, ultimate analysis, hesitate to fragment India into several parts.

What should be done

Now the question is not what has happened till this day. The real question is that in the light of mistakes committed in the past, what should be done to eliminate communalism in Kashmir and re-establish age old relations of brotherhood for living a peaceful and harmonious life. The heaviest responsibility falls on the shoulders of the majority community. Before we approach our Pandit brothers and sisters, it is necessary that we divert our efforts towards creating a sense among the members of the majority community that the Pandits, whose number does not exceed three hundred thousand, have to be brought back in all circumstances. Notable personalities from the localities, towns and areas wherefrom the Pandits have come out should form delegations and visit the camps of Pandits and discuss with them the ways and means of return to their native places. When the Pandits are convinced and return, the people of the respective localities should undertake to provide them security. When the members of majority group demonstrate their determination of protecting life and honour of the members of minority community of their respective localities, then even the strongest of the terrorists and the most formidable of the rabid communalist cannot touch them. The members of majority community should discourage the practice of purchasing the property of the Pandits and should give full guarantee of protecting them. This is the right thing to do if it is desired that the majority community should be absolved of an unbecoming blemish. And if the Pandit community does not return to Kashmir, it will gradually get dispersed all over India and abroad and their future generations will spread the poison of hatred against the majority community of Kashmir.

The minority community, too, should bear in mind that whatever oppressions and atrocities were inflicted upon them, these did not have the sanction of the common people of Kashmir. The truth is that the members of the majority community also had to endure the same tyranny and oppression at the hands of the same elements as did the Pandits. These are the elements who want to fragment Kashmir through the use of violence and brute force. Besides this, the majority community had to bear the brunt of innumerable atrocities unleashed on them by the security forces. Most of their victims had nothing to do with the gun. It, therefore, follows that members of both the communities should join to raise voice against communalism and terrorism on the one hand and tyranny and oppression of the security forces on the other. This would help create mutual trust.

The Pandits may have learnt the bitter lesson that neither security forces nor army nor political leaders can provide them dependable security. Only the members of the majority

community in their respective localities and villages and towns can be the best guarantors of their security.

Political and religious leadership of the majority community in Kashmir should announce their commitment to providing security to the minority community and take concrete steps for their rehabilitation. History of mediaeval times tells us that during the reign of Sultan Sikandar and his son Sultan Ali Shah, Pandits were subjected to severe persecution owing to pressures brought to bear by the Sadaat and the vendetta of Sultan Sikandar's newly converted minister Suha Butt. Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani is venerated by the people of Kashmir because he was the son of Sayyid Ali Hamadani. But when, contrary to the style of his father, he began spreading Islam through force, he met with stiff resistance from the reputed sufi Sayyid Hisari. The saint was obliged to leave Kashmir. Owing to their persecution in the reign of Sultan Sikandar as mentioned above, a large number of Pandits was forced to leave their native land. After Sultan Sikandar's death, his son and successor Sultar. Ali Shah continued Suha Butt as his minister. This newly converted Pandit had given his daughter in marriage to Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani and himself had adopted the title and name of Malik Saifu'd-Din. He compassed large scale massacre of his former co-religionists, destroyed their temples and forced them to flee their native land. But then history unfolded a strange quirk of destiny for Kashmir. In the shape of the younger brother of this Sultan Ali Shah, Kashmir found a great statesman, soldier and ruler namely Shahi Khan, titled Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin who endeared himself to Kashmiris as Bud Shah, the Great King. He ascended the throne in A.D. 1420. Soon after this, he made these decisions (i) newly converts had the option to return to their ancestral faith without any fear of political or social compulsion or coercion. (ii) poll tax and the tax imposed on cremation of the dead by the Hindus were declared null and void. (iii) a ban was imposed on cow slaughter (iv) pilgrimage to Hindu shrines was revived (vi) Pandits who had been forced to leave their homes previously were recalled and rehabilitated in colonies set up for them. Zainu'l-Abidin liberated or separated justice from communal prejudice and the Pandits resumed their normal life in an atmosphere of peace and brotherhood. (See *Taraikh-i- Kashmir Islami ahad mein* by Dr. Sabir Afaq).

Epilogue

Today there is no Zainu'l-Aabidin to adorn Kashmir with secularism and fraternal love. Kashmiris have, however, always held him in great esteem. He was the custodian of the teachings of Maulana Kabir and Shiekh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. In this era of popular rule, the

masses of the people of Kashmir are the Bud Shah of their land. We shall have to recall history. Each Kahmiri shall have to become second Bud Shah and put in his effort in rehabilitating Pandit brothers and sisters back in their native land. We Kashmiris always take pride in our luminaries like Abhinav Gupt, Soma Deva, Damodar Gupt, Bilhana, Kshemendra, Kalhan Pandit, Jonaraja, Shrivara, Shri Butta, Lal Ded and scores and scores of men and women of erudition and excellence. Kashmiris as a nation never forgave those who tried to subjugate them through sheer force and oppression. The majority community of Muslims of Kashmir gave equal status to the Pandits in their polity when they were brought back by Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin from their forced exile. It was this magnanimity of heart which elevated the Pandits to the respectable status of a teacher. History tells us that though the Sadaat descended from the line of the Prophet (PBUH), and Kashmiris respected them from that standpoint, yet they considered them foreigners. Kashmiris were never comfortable with foreigners. They rose against the Sadaat and brought about a revolution of sorts. Those who formed the vanguard of a struggle for revolution in those distant days, were none other than the recently converted clans of the Pandits, namely Raina. Dar (Damras/Dhars), Magrey (Margesha), Thukar (Thakurs), Lone (Lavanyas) Rather (Rathors), Keng (Ekangas) etc. They neither tolerated nor compromised with oppression, nor did they bring in religion to rationalise political action. Kalhan Pandit has made very apt analysis. He writes,

"Kashmir can be conquered through spiritual qualities but not through the power of the sword."

It has, therefore, to be remembered that in the past, whenever the minority community was put to distress and suffering, it was only because of her rulers or external elements. Without bringing in considerations of religion and sect, Kashmiris have, as a nation, always resisted such rulers and external forces. For example, when Pandit Birbal Dhar sought the support of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore to save Kashmiris from the tyranny of Pathan rule, he left behind his wife and his young daughter-in-law in the safe custody of a Muslim milkman named Quddos Gujri of Gojwara, Srinagar. When Birbal Dhar's brother-in-law (on wife's side) Munshi Trilok Chand gave the Pathan Governor Azam Khan the clue where his sister and her daughter-in-law were hiding, the governor put Quddos Gujri and his whole family to sword. This shows that religion and sect never became the source of enmity. During the Mughal rule, Mohtavi Khan or Mulla Abdun-Nabi was made the Shaykhu'l-Islam of Kashmir. He was a fanatical and obstinate person using his official position for his personal ends. When he imposed some

restrictions on Pandits, the latter revolted against him. But then Kashmiris of Shia and Sunni faith also joined hands with the Pandits. He was detained and was put to death along with his two sons. When his third son, Mulla Ashraf sought the revenge of his father and brothers, he contrived the cooperation of the Sunnis. On the other side, Pandits aligned themselves with the Shias. However later on, the new governor of Kashmir, Abdus-Samad Khan arrested Mulla Ashraf and his companions and put them to the gallows. Withdrawing all restrictions that had been imposed on Pandits, he gave a proof of great generosity towards them. Therefore we reiterate our assertion that as a nation, Kashmiris never succumbed to communalism and prejudice. Criminals and external elements did create chaos but that was only a temporary phase and the nation soon returned to equilibrium.

In conclusion, let me say that if we begin to think of future brotherhood, peace harmony and the structure of relationship on the basis of past bitternesses, it will lead only to the exacerbation of our mutual enmity. But if we, keeping before us our past experiences, hark back to traditional brotherhood, relations of teacher and taught, patriotism and all that pious relationship called love, struggling hard to build a base for future fraternal solidarity, then like the times of Sultan Zainul- Abidin, the day of peace and amity may dawn upon us. Why then shall Kashmiri Pandits live a miserable life far away from the valley? How then, can the Muslims find peace, honour and pride while separated from their Pandit brothers and sisters? I know what living in exile means; to me twenty-seven years of separation from my native land have been as long as twenty-seven centuries. Therefore, for the majority and minority communities in Kashmir, living together and fighting together against the evil of communalism is in reality what is to be called Kashmiriyat.

Gandhiji had said,:

"Hinduism and Islam are put to test in Kashmir. Kashmir has become a beacon of light. I hope and pray that in this sub-continent lost in darkness, Kashmir proves to be a pillar of light".

Let us prove that the people of Kashmir prove for the entire sub-continent not a source of darkness but a lighthouse of peace and harmony.

(Diemen-Holland, 1997-1998)

Chapter 16

THE TRUTH CANNOT BE CONCEALED

Sentimental and religious exploiting

For last fifty years Pakistani rulers and politicians made people sentimental on the basis of religion and Kashmir, but there is an old English adage "You cannot fool all the people all the time". This applies to Pakistan's politicians and its efforts to fool the people of Kashmir right from the time of its creation in 1947. However, the time has come not only to expose Pakistani ruler's designs and to reveal its real intentions to the people of Kashmir. Pakistan's sincerity towards Kashmiris has always been dictated only by one factor to enslave the people of Kashmir. To achieve this goal it has not hesitated in labeling any Kashmiri who has dared to defy it either as an "Indian agent" or an "Enemy of Islam".

Pakistan's ruler class labeled Maqbool Butt, the martyr, as an Indian agent because he struggled for an independent Kashmir. This allegation was also levelled in the past against Khan Wali Khan and the Awami National Party (ANP). However, the same party was allowed to come to power not only in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) but also as an alliance partner with the Pakistan Muslim League (N) in the National Assembly. But now, again Khan Wali Khan's party is traitor of Pakistan, because of Pakhtoonkhwa issue. Jam Sadiq and Mustafa Khar were subjected to similar propaganda and Khar's wife was forced to write a book against her husband. Despite these allegations Jam Sadiq was made Chief Minister of Sind and Mustafa Khar was inducted in the Federal cabinet. Pakistan's rulers together with the Armed Forces and the bureaucracy are concerned only with self-aggrandizement and are

scared of the truth and want to put it under cover. They imposed Urdu on the people of East Pakistan and thus initiated the process of separation. In 1971, as 90,000 of the Pakistan Army's elite troops were about to surrender while, President Yahya Khan was speaking of a "Thousand Years Jihad"! An expedition in Baluchistan was justified and so was the massacre of the Sindhis this justified. A military operation in 1954 against the people of Poonch was described as a fight between "Musalmans and Sudhans" and justified as an "action for Islam". The ruling troika comprising the political masters, the Armed Forces and the bureaucracy is plundering Pakistan and any person who dares state this is promptly labelled an "Indian Agent". It's no use circumventing the truth. The Western countries have progressed because they admit their weaknesses and faulty policies and do not go around branding critics as "foreign agents". One should argue logically and not resort to false accusations or intimidations. Emotions, sentiments and half-truths cannot conceal logic, truth and facts of history.

Politics is Worship

I have never inducted the element of personal suffering or Pakistan's abominations on me or my family. For me, struggling for the rights of the peoples is "worship". The Pakistani bureaucracy refused a visa to my wife. She was anxious to attend to her ailing mother and be with her sisters and brothers at a critical time. Yet her compassionate plea fell on deaf ears. Even the staunchest of my adversary knows that my wife is in no way interested in politics and is nothing more than a loving mother and housewife. And yet she is being made a scapegoat for my courage to challenge the policy makers of Pakistan to come up with the truth on Kashmir. We did appeal for justice directly to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif but there is no response. At the same time, the Indian Embassy in Islamabad has since 1969 refused to issue a visa to my sister even on the death of my mother. She has not seen her father, brothers or sisters since the last twenty-eight years. Till date we have never taken any step against Pakistan's interests or against the interests of her people. As the saying goes we have "not disturbed a brick lying on the road". And yet Pakistan has destroyed Karachi, drilled holes into people's bodies with boring machines and destroyed mosques. It has even gone to the extent of encouraging violence in religious areas so much that parents dissuade their children from praying in mosques lest they should become victims of sectarian "entrepreneurs".

There was a time when I shared the same blind emotions about Pakistan, which many sentimental Kashmiris do today. In 1969, while visiting Pakistan for the first time at the Ganda Singh border, I bowed

and kissed the land. The Pakistan Ranger on duty looked genuinely surprised and asked me what I was doing. I explained that Pakistan was the "Mecca and Madina" for us to which he reacted "Kocha, when you go in and see this "Mecca and Madina" your dreams will shatter!" Pakistan may be the "Mecca and Madina" of its feudal lords, its Army Generals and its bureaucrats but it is certainly not the "promised land" for the Muslims of the sub-continent. This truth cannot be countered by leveling accusations and making personal attacks.

Hijacking in 1971

The hijacking of the "Ganga" in 1971 was planned entirely by Maqbool Butt, the leader of the National Liberation Front. Pakistan's Army and bureaucracy used it against us to give it a label of an "Indian Conspiracy. If at all there was a conspiracy, it was a Pakistan design against the rising nationalism and the liberation struggle in Kashmir. The hijacking of the Ganga took place in January 1971 when Shiekh Mujibur Rehman won the elections. When the rulers of Pakistan postponed the session of the National Assembly, turmoil ensued in East Pakistan. There is no doubt that India disallowed Pakistani flights over her air space but till December 3, 1971, these flights were being routed via Colombo. In fact unrestricted Pakistani flights over Indian territory had been stopped in 1965 itself. Thereafter, any aircraft flying from West Pakistan to East Pakistan needed India's permission before it took off. Moreover, India could ask any Pakistani aircraft flying over its air space to land for a check. Pakistani officials of the civil aviation department clarified this during the hearing of the Special Court on the Ganga hijacking case. This and other such evidence clearly shows yet another attempt on the part of Pakistan's rulers of concealing the truth. The truth was that Pakistan's ruling class looked for scapegoats to escape the wrath of the people on loosing its eastern province.

U.S.A. used Pakistan

Since its creation, Pakistan has acted as a "front-line" state of the US. The US used it in the early 1950s to spy against the Soviet Union and in the 1980s for arming and training the Afghan Mujahideen. The Taliban is a creation of Pakistan with US and Saudi backing. The US is also currently using Pakistan to control the "evil" Iranians. Pakistan is also important for protecting American economic interests in the newly opened Central Asian Republics. And more importantly, the US needs Pakistan "watching" China and possibly use it for promoting unrest in Tibet and Xinjiang. This is the reason why the US refuses to categorize Pakistan as a "terrorist state" despite open knowledge that a large

number of Islamic fundamentalist organizations in the Middle East and North Africa have received their initial baptism in Pakistan. The killings in Algeria and Egypt are a result of this exercise. And yet the US terms Pakistan as a "moderate" Islamic State. Iran and Libya have been punished by the US for lesser "crimes" and categorized as "terrorist states". Iran's moral support for the Hizbollah is seen as promoting "terrorism" but Pakistan's open funding, training and equipping of the Taliban was initially welcomed as "positive development" for "stability" in Afghanistan. Libya continues to be regarded as a "pariah" by the US and it's allies only because it refuses to hand over the alleged accused of the Lockerbie case. The truth is that Pakistan is ready to sacrifice its own people as it did in the case of Amin Kanshi to please its American masters.

Revolt against the ISI Game Plan !

Pakistan has always been inimical towards any form of Kashmiri nationalism. My experiences with Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) would prove my contention. As Organizing Chairman of the J&K Liberation Front, in 1984-1985, I was involved in a dialogue with the ISI. I was leading a team of JKLF's leading activists, which comprised Dr. Farooq Haider, late Sardar Rashid Harasat and Zuber-ul-Haq. After four months of intense discussions with the ISI, I refused to become the "Kotedar" -the supplier of sheep for the butcher for the ISI's grand game plan. The ISI wanted us to bring Kashmiri youth from across the border so that they could be used as gun fodder against the Indian security forces. My conscience refused to even consider such a scenario and I revolted against the very idea. Moreover, I did not consider Azad Kashmir and the Northern Areas of Gilgit and Baltistan as free. There were also fears that the ISI would backtrack on its tall promises and succeed only in ensuring genocide of the Kashmiris with the Indian Army, as Pakistan did with the Bengalis in East Pakistan in 1971.

I did not want to be part of any such game plan and walked out of the negotiations. Unfortunately others fell for the ISI trap and my fears proved correct years later. Thereafter, the ISI started targeting me in every conceivable way. I was asked to surrender my Pakistani passport and Identity Card an action against which (rtd) Justice Yusuf Saraf filed a writ in the High Court in Rawalpindi. An attempt was made at my life when I was driving with my friend and our vehicle was pushed into a gorge near Pelanderi. It was at this stage that my Pakistani friends and well-wishers advised me to leave Pakistan, which I did in 1986. I was part of the political struggle for independence, which could not go beyond setting up an office and publishing literature as we lacked funds. The Kalashnikov culture came later with large scale Pakistani funding.

Weapons of all kinds were freely distributed to Kashmiri youth brought into the training camps by the self-styled "nationalists". These "nationalists" were promptly discarded once their utility was over and Amanullah Khan was offered a "golden hand-shake" by the ISI and Yasin Malik recognized as the Chairman of the JKLF. To ensure that nationalism of any kind would be wiped out from Kashmir, the ISI raised pro-Pakistan groups and encouraged them to fight the same nationalists whom they had supported. Selective killings of leading nationalists in the streets of Srinagar carried clear messages for the people. Maqbool Malik's eyes were gouged out! Indeed, it is ironical that this same group of "nationalists" who had been armed and trained by Pakistan soon started speaking of a civil disobedience movement. Looking back at these events I feel confident in stating the truth-that I have not been responsible or instrumental in any way in the killing of any Kashmiri. Will the policy makers of Pakistan make a similar acknowledgement?

We Don't Need Guns !

I have always maintained that we do not need guns in Kashmir. In 1992, I had reiterated my stand during an argument with Dr. Gulam Qadir Wani, Dr Gulam Nabi Fai was present as it was in his office that a heated debate on Kashmir was going on. A couple of years later, Dr. Wani wrote a letter of apology stating "Your experience was right and we were wrong". At no stage should anyone get the impression that I am a coward or am afraid to hold a gun. Fortunately I have been blessed with enough physical and mental courage and my deeds have proved this fact. I would like to remind those who make such frivolous accusations that my younger brother Iqbal Qureshi and cousin Altaf Qureshi who later became a martyr had introduced the JKLF by throwing a bomb in Bakshi Stadium, Srinagar on 15 August 1983, in presence of a heavy security build-up. It was an act reminiscent of Bhagat Singh's action in the Central Assembly in 1929. Their intention was not to kill anyone. For these actions Iqbal and Altaf languished in jail while some of the present Jamat-e-Islami (JEI) leaders were busy taking oaths owing allegiance to India). Maybe this opportunity should be taken to tell the people of Kashmir that in those very days a present day leader of the All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) was a Congress Minister. Today he is the staunchest supporter of Kashmir's accession with Pakistan. For over two years Altaf and Iqbal were imprisoned resulting in acute mental agony which in turn was the main reason for the death of our mother due to a brain hemorrhage. Iqbal was refused to attend his mother's burial by Dr. Farooq Abdullah. It was the first instance when a political prisoner was denied parole in such accentuating circumstances.

Civil Disobedience Movement !

Many leading names among the activists in the current struggle are products of the struggle started by Iqbal Qureshi and Altaf Qureshi. We did understand the implications of taking arms from Pakistan at that time and this is the reason why we rejected the "gun culture". Instead we need to launch a civil disobedience movement. The Indian security forces would find it difficult to justify killing in such an event. Till date, India has not been able to provide any reasons for the massacres in Bijbehara, Hawel, Sopor and Chota Bazar only because the protesters were unarmed. Even international support will be forthcoming if a peaceful "intifada" is launched to touch the conscience of the people. On the other hand any intensification of an armed conflict will only strengthen India's case of comparing the Kashmiri terrorist with his brethren in Algeria and Egypt. Is Pakistan willing to accept this fact or will it still call it Indian propaganda ?

Movement's Decline

Of the many factors for the decline of the ongoing movement in Kashmir, I shall refer two, as these are integral to Pakistan's strategy in Kashmir. The first is armed militancy, which has taken the form of open gun wielding. This form of terrorism has which replaced civil disobedience has become the bane of Kashmiri nationalism. Secondly, the deliberate policy of fragmenting the liberation movement into 156 groups so that none of the groups are strong enough to set independence as a goal. Instead "integration" with Pakistan becomes the objective. A combination of the two factors results in the lethal strife for domination and ends up in the deaths of thousands of Kashmiri youth. The lack of unity amongst the militant groups has also given an opportunity to the Indian security forces and the intelligence agencies to exploit the differences to their advantage.

Kuka Parrey's story ?

The case of Kuka Parrey clearly proves my contention. I have always condemned each action of Kuka Parrey and his cohorts who have been responsible for the murders of large number of Kashmiri youth. I am sure that true nationalists will never condone Kuka Parrey's actions or forgive him for the damage caused to the freedom struggle. However, we should also be prepared to accept the realities, which created Kuka Parrey. The truth is that Kuka Parrey was initially a member of the Jammu & Kashmir Students Liberation Front (JKSLF) and had received training in Pakistan. The JKSLF has a strong base amongst the local

populace in Safapur (Sumbal) area. However, the Hizbul Mujahideen, the armed wing of the Jamaat-e-Islami (JEI) wanted to dominate this locality and kidnapped and killed the JKSLF Deputy Commander, Manzoor Nabdi. Nabdi's popularity among the people led a strong protest resulting in a three-month strike. Further, the people demanded that the All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) should punish the Nabdi's assassins. The APHC constituted an enquiry committee and the report submitted by the committee held the Hizbul Mujahideen squarely responsible for the dastardly act. The APHC's committee also recommended punishment for the offenders but it was never implemented.

HM helps Indian Security Forces ?

Intoxicated by power and confident that its might would never be challenged, the Hizbul Mujahideen commenced a systematic elimination of leaders from all groups including JKLF, Al Jihad and Al Mujahideen. I warned the JEI to refrain from these killings as it would force Kashmiri youth to take shelter with the Indian security forces and this is what has exactly happened. The Indians immediately used this opportunity and armed Kuka Parrey and his comrades. This led to the formation of the Ikhwanul Muslimoon, an organization born out of vendetta. Its sole objective was complete annihilation of the Hizbul Mujahideen. It was a complete proxy war with one group being backed by Pakistan and the other by India. While there was no winner, the losers were thousands of bereaved mothers, wives and sisters. Maqbool Malik, an upright political thinker of the JKLF was kidnapped and killed by the Hizbul Mujahideen and his eyes were gauged out. Qazi Nisar was murdered and his family provided names of his killer but to no avail. This gives rise to a pertinent question - could the Kashmiri leadership by asking Pakistan not to encourage the inter-group strife, prevented the proliferation of the Kuka Parreys in the Valley ? These were the same young men who had braved the harsh climate and snow clad mountains to cross into Pakistan to receive training. The Hizbul Mujahideen hunted them down one by one. There are many among the pro-accession sections such as Bilal Lodhi and Babar Badr who were forced to leave the Valley and cool their heels in Delhi. Therefore, any courageous, reasonable and right thinking person in Kashmir would then endorse my statement- That Kuka Parrey was made "Kuka Parrey" by the Hizbul Mujahideen. This is the truth.

Pakistan's Sincerity and Islamic world's Attitude !

Is Pakistan really sincere with the Kashmiris? This question is raised repeatedly by most involved in the Liberation struggle. I am convinced that Pakistan is not rendering sincere help to our struggle.

Pakistan is concerned only with the Kashmir region and is willing to let Jammu and Ladakh remain with India. Does this not provide adequate proof of its intentions? Pakistan's role in Gilgit Baltistan and the repeated rejection of the independence option for Kashmir further substantiates my argument. However, the solution for Kashmir is not an armed conflict but a peaceful "**Intifada**". The international community is also encouraging the two countries to adopt a peaceful dialogue. Despite the brave talk of "Ummah", none of the Islamic countries have imposed any economic embargo on trade with India. On the contrary, some of India's largest trading partners are from the Arab world! Even Pakistan is encouraging increase of border trade with India. But the moment a Kashmiri initiates even an idea of a dialogue with India, he is promptly dubbed a traitor. Therefore, the time has also come for Pakistan to stop meddling in the affairs of Kashmir. The ISI and its creations have done enough damage in Kashmir.

Jamaat-e-Islaami says no more Armed struggle ?

Indeed, it is ironical the Jamaat-e-Islaami (JEI) which has been instrumental in the killings of thousands has now decided to disassociate the objective of Armed struggle, the JEI has recently said that it would not support any form of armed militancy. Even though I am inclined to accept this statement with a pinch of salt, as an optimist, I hope they are sincere and hail it as a step in the right direction. However, I should remind the JEI's rank and file that I have since 1990 stressed on the need to launch a civil disobedience movement. My suggestions had raised a hornet's nest then be the same people who are today talking of rejecting armed militancy.

There are presently three types of groups in Kashmir. These are (a) True nationalists seeking full freedom and independence of entire J&K (b) those who advocate accession with Pakistan (c) pro Indian groups. The formation of the Ladakh Development Council, a body created with the objective of economic development in the region, came in for severe criticism from the pro-Pakistan groups. They condemned it as a move to separate Ladakh from J&K. Why is that these groups do not demand the return of Gilgit Baltistan? Are they showing their loyalty to their masters? Can they then deny that the sole objective of Operation Topac launched by Pakistan's rulers was to annex the valley so that they could control the water resources? Are Pakistan's defense needs more important than the integrity of their homeland? The truth is that these groups have sold their conscience in return for the temporary favours received from Pakistan. It is unfortunate that their vision has become so clouded that they are unable to perceive Pakistan's true intentions. On the other hand,

true nationalists in J&K would fight till the end to ensure that there are no divisions along either religious or ethnic lines. Nobody wants Kashmir to become a Bosnia or an Afghanistan.

During my struggle I have been labelled as an "Indian stooge" and as a "Pakistani agent". At other times I have been branded as a "criminal" and "traitor". It has not dampened my enthusiasm and zeal to work towards the golden objective of independence of my motherland. My conscience is clear that I have always worked against the interests of these two countries, which are bent on enslaving us. This is the truth. If expression of this truth is a "crime" then I am proud to be termed a "criminal". I appeal to the people of J&K to come out openly and state the truth. It may imperil our lives but truth shall prevail!

March, 1998.

Chapter 17

WHY 'AZAD KASHMIR' IS CALLED POK ?

'Azad' means free and freedom for the people means exercise of their right to self-determination, self-rule and sovereignty. The rulers of Pakistan controlled part of Kashmir call Azad Kashmir meaning "Free Kashmir". Let us examine whether it is really free and thus entitled to be called Azad Kashmir?

"Azad Kashmir" comprises three regions; Gilgit, Baltistan and the rest of the territory under the control of Pakistan. With regard to Gilgit and Baltistan, one should not indulge in any wishful thinking. Had Pakistani rulers been sincere to Kashmiris, they would not have approached the Supreme Court on technical basis to annul the judgement of the Azad Kashmir (AK) High Court with regard to the status of these two areas. For fifty years, the people of Gilgit and Baltistan were sensitised to separation from Kashmir. Otherwise they could not be prompted to ask for representation in National Assembly of Pakistan. The deprived people of these areas do not have the right to appeal in the Supreme Court or the High Court of AK or Pakistan. Not even a criminal or civil case can be lodged with the High Court or the Supreme Court because Gilgit and Baltistan do not fall within the jurisdiction of the High Court or the Supreme Court of AK or Pakistan.

All sincere nationalists call AK as Pakistan occupied Kashmir. If I call it so, I am only following the line of nationalist policy. To be precise, I advance the following arguments in support of the stand taken by the nationalists.

- 1) Despite Maharaja's accession to India, we call it IHK just because India did not give Kashmiris the right to self-determination.

Despite a stand still agreement with Maharaja, Pakistan is engineered attack on Kashmir by tribals and their regulars (see Gen. Akbar Khan's work *Invaders of Kashmir*). People in Gilgit and Baltistan liberated their areas without Pakistan's assistance, but Pakistan ruled it through a resident for twenty six years under F.C.R as the British used to do. There is no High or Supreme Court in the area nor can the people there send their elected representatives to Assembly. Is this 'azaadi'?

2) Governments are made or broken in AK/POK at the behest of rulers in Islamabad. During Ayub regime, President late K.H. Khurshid was made to resign by an S.P. and later jailed in Palandari and Dalai Camp. He happened to be the private secretary of Mr. Jinnah at one time. In Z.A. Bhutto regime, another elected President, Sardar Qayyum was removed by a D.S.P of Federal Security Forces in Muzaffarabad holding him by his beard. During Gen. Zia's regime, Brig. Hayat Khan was imposed on AK for seven years. When Zia was no more, PPP regime was installed in AK when the party came to power in Islamabad. PPP govt. was out and Abbasi, Minister for Kashmir Affairs told newsmen, "I can send a policeman from Pakistan to arrest AK Prime Minister Rathore." It precisely happened and Rathore was brought to Islamabad in a chopper and made to sign letter of resignation.

Nawaz Sharif came to power and Sardar Qayyum became PM. Sharif's statement during his first stint is on record. He said, "We shall give 12 mohajir seats in Pakistan to Sardar Qayyum as a gift". Precisely he did it. Qayyum's son Atiq belongs to Dherkot (Gaziabad) POK, but was elected on a Kashmiri mohajir seat in Karachi. Thanks to dead bodies of Kashmiris dropping down in the valley owing to which Benazir did not oust Qayyum. However election brought in PPP regime. Everybody including Nawaz Sharif called it 'selection' not 'election'.

3) High ranking officers like Chief Secretary, Finance Secretary, I.G.P etc for AK come from Islamabad. What is the difference between IHK and POK.

4) During Z.A. Bhutto regime, Azad Kashmir Rifles militia was disbanded by Pakistan government and amalgamated with Pak army only to lose its identity. This was to make AK totally dependent on Pakistan for security and maintenance of law and order. Does it speak about freedom and independence of Azad Kashmir.

5) No elections in AK can be fought without taking oath of allegiance to Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. In preceding elections nationalist formed national alliance to fight elections. Their all

nomination applications were rejected for not filling accession to Pakistan oath document. Are these people free or enslaved ?

6) No Minister, Prime Minister or Preseident in AK can assume office unless he takes the oath of Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. Is that President, PM and the ministers 'azaad' to call their land Azad Kashmir?

7) Nobody in AK can be appointed on any government job unless he/she expresses loyalty to the concept of Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. This is only what the enslaved people have to do, not the free people.

8) AK does not get royalty of Mangla Dam or its share of foreign exchange earnings nor the share towards tax realisations and sales tax. A region and people providing energy resource to others without asking for its cost and allowing its own people to remain deprived. Looking another Side NWFP get royalty of Terbela Dam.

9) For the last 50 years, people in AK have been held hostage to "so-called freedom of Kashmir". People finding no avenues of subsistence in their land, emigrate to Middle East, Europe and other lands to labour untiringly. During past 8 years of turmoil in the valley very few people have emigrated to foreign countries, but in AK innumerable numbers have emigrated in search of livelihood. Thousands of AK youth do menial jobs in Rawalpindi, Islamabad, Lahore etc.

10) AK youth working hard in foreign countrys remit enormous foreign exchange to Pakistan. In 1977, the amount was computed to seven thousand million rupees. In 1988 the Pak Finance Minster said in a statement that AK deposits in pakistani banks was in the neighbourhood of 24 hundred thousand million rupees. Despite this huge remittances, there are no industries to employ the youth. With these enormous foreign remittances industries in Karachi, Lahore, Hasanabad and Faisalabad are run. My poor compatriot in AK has to remain content with a menial's job, and nobody feel proud to call it 'Azad' meaning 'Free' Kashmir.

11) Azad Kashmir have no medical college or an engineering college or a polytech-institute or agricultural college or a forestry college in AK? None. A university mere runs classes in four or five towns. On the other hand, in IHK whomsoever you meet is either a doctor, engineer, professor, technocrat or scientist etc.

12) From my freedom in 1980 till my exile in 1986, I was active in AK and Pakistan politics. Eight times I was banned to enter the

district and four times I was arrested. I was the first Organisation Chairman of Liberation Front when it was incepted in 1982. Our medical teams went from village to village to provide medicare to the needy. My entry in districts was banned or I was arrested because of my popularity with the masses. Being different from self-seeking leadership of AK, I dedicated myself to the service of the people, my compatriots in that part of Kashmir. I was clubbed by police for making AK a base camp. They inflicted head injuries on me. Let me not say about many others.

13) Whatever I said on current matters years ago has come out true. please keep in mind that I am a student of Maqbool Butt, the martyr and a staunch nationalist. It will help find an answer on many questions. On Internet I said the very first day that there is no point in indulging in meaningless discussions. I have given the formula of the solution to Kashmir with two options. If the first option is not acceptable why should not the second option be implemented if Pakistan is sincere with Kashmiri people?

People in POK are aware, that "Azad Kashmir" is a part of land occupied by Pakistan. But there are some persons who have a large interests with Rulers, Agencies and political parties, they will never accept truth whatsoever you do, even if GOD will speak by his own. I know some, they are on pay roles of agencies and they get expences for big offices, travels, and for making noise. Sardar Qayyam Khan is alleged to have misappropriated 54 crores from the Kashmir Liberation Cell. Last week at a press-conference, the director of Liberation cell accused his secretary of embezzling 8 crores of rupees. There are also, some who are more dangerous because of little knowledge. *'INTEREM CONSITUTION OF AZAD KASHMIR ACT, 1974'* is enough proof to know why Azad Kashmir is called POK. For example:

1) Section 7.2; "No person or political party in Azad Jammu&Kashmir shall be permitted to propagete against, or take part in activities prejudicial or determential to, the ideology of the state's accession to Pakistan".

2) Section 21; Azad Jammu&Kashmir council -

- 1) there shall be an Azad Jammu&Kashmir council cosisting of:
 - a) the Prime Minister of Pakistan;
 - b) the President;(AJK)

- c) five members to be nominated by the Prime Minister of Pakistan from time to time from amongst federal ministers and members of Parliament;
 - d) the Prime Minister of Azad Jammu&Kashmir or a person nominated by him; and
 - e) six members to be elected by the Assembly from amongst state Subjects in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote.
 - f) Prime Minister of Pakistan shall be the chairman of the council.
- 3) section 31.3;
- a) Neither the cuoncil nor the Assembly shall have the power to make any law concerning.-
 - b) the defence and security of Azad Jammu&Kashmir;
 - c) the current coin or the issue of any bills, notes or other paper currency;
 - d) the external affairs of Azad Jammu&Kashmir including foreign trade and foreign aid.
- 4) Section 35; Authentication of bills past by the council shalll not require the assent of the President (AJK) and shall, upon its authentication by the chairman of the council, become law and be called an act of the council. (Please remmember, that the chairman of the council is the PM of Pakistan with five nominated cabinet and parliament members and the minister of Kashmir affairs. When there is no democratic goverment than the president of Pakistan or Martial Law Administrator are all in all about POK
- 5) Please note, that there are more than 55 matters, in which the President, prime Minister and whole Assembly of POK cannot interfere according to *INTEREM CONSTITUTION ACT*, paragraph, Third Schedule.
- 6) Some important matters from those 55 are;
- 1) Nationality, citizenship and nazaralisation, migration from or into Azad Jammu&Kashmir, admission into, and immeigration

and expulsion from AJK including in relation there to the regulation of the movements in AJK.

- 2) Post and telegraphs, including telephones, wireless Broadcasting and other like forms of Communications; Post Office Saving Bank.
- 3) Council public services and Council Public Service Commission.
- 4) Administrative courts for Council subjects.
- 5) Mineral resources necessary for the generation of nuclear energy.
- 6) Aircraft and air navigation; the provision of aerodromes; regulation and organization of air traffic and aerodromes.
- 7) Copyright, inventions, designs, trade marks and merchandise marks.
- 8) Banking, that is to say, the co-ordination with the Government of Pakistan of the conduct of banking business.
- 9) The law of insurance and the regulation of the conduct of insurance business.
- 10) Stock-exchange and future markets with objects and business not confined to Azad Jammu&Kashmir.
- 11) Planning for economic coordination, including planning and coordination of scientific and technological research.
- 12) Highways, continuing beyond the territory of Azad jammu & Kashmir, excluding roads declared by the Government of Pakistan to be strategic importance.
- 13) Extension of the powers and jurisdiction of members of a police force belonging to Azad Jammu&Kashmir or any province of Pakistan to any area in such province or Azad Jammu&kashmir, but not so as to enable the police of Azad Jammu&Kashmir or such province to exercise Powers and jurisdiction in such province or Azad Jammu&Kashmir.
- 14) Railways.

- 15) Mineral oil and natural gas; liquids and substances declared by law made by the Council to be dangerously inflammable.
- 16) Development of industries, where development under Council control is declared by law made by the Council to be expedient in the public interest.
- 17) Removal of prisoners and accused persons from Azad Jammu&Kashmir to Pakistan or from Pakistan to Azad Jammu&Kashmir.
- 18) Population planning and social welfare.
- 19) Elecricity.
- 20) State Propety.
- 21) Curriculum, syllabus, planning, policy, centres of excellence and standards of education.
- 22) Sanctioning of Cinematograph films for exhibition.
- 23) Tourism.
- 24) Duties of customs, including export duties.
- 25) Taxes on income other than agricultural encome.
- 26) Taxes on corporations

Please note, that this *INTEREM CONSTITUTION OF AZAD JAMMU&KASHMIR ACT 1974* is made by Ministry of law and Kashmir affairs of Pakistan at the time of Z.A.Bhutto's regime.

- 7) Oath of office.

"That as a President of Azad Jammu&Kashmir I will remain loyal to the country and to the cause of accession of the state of Jammu&Kashmir to Pakistan"

- 8) Here is the oath from IHK for the head of state.

"..... That I will faithfully execute the office of Governor of Jammu&Kashmir and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the constitution and the law and that I will devote myself to the service and well being of the people of the state".

9) I and every respected person will always condemned the brutality of Indian security forces against innocent people in Kashmir. I am struggling for more than 29 years for the independent and sovereign state of Jammu&Kashmir. Please note that every state in the world including western states who always are crying for Human Rights, (for western states Human Rights matter is a face saving issue) or response against armed struggle with brutal methods including India and Pakistan. What the Indian security forces are doing today in IHK against the people of Kashmir, Pakistani forces had done with Kasmiris in Poonch district including Mang in 1954. In 1971 Pakistani forces had killed thousands of muslim brothers in East-Pakistan (now Bangladesh) they also raped muslim women in figure of 200.000. But for indian people, Security Forces brutality is against the principls of Great Gandhi called by indian Nation as a "BAPU".

PLEASE NOTE, WE ARE NOT ADVOCATING FOR BRUTALITY OR ANY KIND OF SUPRESSION FROM THE STATE POWER AGAINST THE PEOPLE, BUT WE WANT TO GIVE EVIDENCE FOR OUR AIMS AND OBJECTIVES. THAT IS ; INDIA AND PAKISTAN ARE BOTH AGRESSORS AGAINST THE KASHMIRIS AND BOTH PARTS OF OCCUPIED KASHMIR, MUST BE CALLED IOK AND POK.

Recently AJK High court made a decision on the status of AJK. This decision is also substantial proof, that Azad Kashmir must be called P.O.K.

AZAD-KASHMIR HIGH COURT DISMISSES PETITION ON ITS AUTONOMOUS STATUS.

MUZAFARABAD, 23 FEBRUARY, 1998, The Azad-Kashmir high court has ruled that the area under Pakistani control is nothing more than a province of Pakistan and that its much acclaimed 'autonomous status' is only a myth and that its Interim Constitution as well as the position taken by the UN on Azad-Kashmir status does not make it an independent state. Justice Manzoor Gelani ruled that "the Articles 31-33 and 58 of the Azad-Kashmir Constitution-1974, surrendered Foreign, Communications, Defense and Trade powers to federal government of Pakistan and that Azad-Kashmir government was no more 'powerful'

than any other Pakistani provincial government". His ruling came in response to a legal petition entered by Mirpur based Amin Shipping Corporation which questioned the legitimacy of Foreign Imports Tax Duty charged to them by Pakistan Customs Offices.

The Azad-Kashmir region, which some perceive as a semi-autonomous country with its own prime minister and president, has effectively been ruled by Pakistan since 1947, and since 1974 most decision making powers have gone to the chair of the Kashmir Council - Prime Minister of Pakistan.

One question and answer from the Azad Kashmir assembly relating to our subject.

Muzafarabad; 6th March: The Azad Kashmir government has admitted that it has no official record of billions worth of properties in Pakistan which belong to the State of Jammu-Kashmir. In an answer to a question by Jamaat-Islami's only MLA in the puppet state assembly the Speaker said that " Only those questions which were in the jurisdiction of the state assembly could be asked in the House. We have no control over a single inch of Kashmir property in Pakistan and the position is the same in Gilgit/Baltistan area", he added.

Azad Kashmir MLA's and ministers have been unable to obtain the exact figures of income and expenditure from Kashmir properties located within Pakistan, which hystorical belonged to the Maharaja of Kashmir and provided a lucrative income for him.

Azad Kashmir would be really free if the sovereignty rested with her people; if it could chalk out its independent policies and courses of action; if its administration was run by its own sons and daughters; if its President was treated at par with any president of a foreign country. Where a President is made to stand in line to recieve the Under Secretary from Islamabad. That land cannot claim to call it self 'azaad'. That is a minomer. By calling it POK, I have not played in the hands of anybody, but I have only said what is literally and factually true meaning that Pakistan has occupied (the part of) Kashmir called POK.

Lastly:

ACCORDING TO PRINCIPLELS, THE MEANING OF PATRIOT IS ' SOMEONE WHO LOVES HIS COUNTRY AND FEELS VERY LOYAL TOWARDS IT. THE PEOPLE WHO WANT ACCESSION WITH ANY OTHER COUNTRY CAN NOT BE CALLED A PATRIOT BY THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF SOIL.

Chapter 18

CRY FOR FREEDOM FROM PRISON !!!

1. Indian and Pakistani rulers and army have made the killing of Kashmiris, forcing them out of their homes, putting them in prisons and subjecting them to atrocities as their basic policy for last fifty years. Armies from both sides shell each other's positions but actually it is Kashmiris who become the victims. A year back Indian army fired rockets on KAHOTA (POK). It killed civilian Kashmiris and destroyed a MOSQUE.

2. On 30 September Pakistani army fired shells on KARGIL which killed Kashmiris. **Gun and gunpowder have no religion. Had it one, then Pakistani shells would not have destroyed CHACHIK MOSQUE in Kargil.** A year ago, Indian shelling killed 17 persons on the other side of the border plus destroying a mosque. This year Pakistani shelling killed the exact number (which included three children), wounded 30 persons and destroyed a mosque. The score is equal. Is it a conspiracy in which both have agreed to bring about genocide of Kashmiris? **STOP MASSACRE OF KASHMIRIS !**

3. Gandhiji, where are you ? Please arise and stop Indian security forces from committing atrocities against Kashmiris because you had repeatedly said " that Kashmiris be given justice". The conscience of Indian politicians, intellectuals and humanists, dedicated to human values is silent on what oppression is being done on Kashmiris. To defame you and to defame the spirit of India, Kashmiri women are clean-shaved.

Where are the inheritors of the land of Sita ?

4. Innocent Kashmiris ask questions from the heirs of Gandhiji, Asoka and secularism as this: Why is not the Major who murdered Jaleel

Andrabi handed over to justice? What defence strategy is there in shelling village Aren in Bandipora and killing 11 innocent men, women and children? What bravery is there in a Captain killing two girl students, Masroora and Nasreen, in Cadora Pulwama? Where was humanism when in Akingam, Anantnag, four persons were gunned down in firing which included a school teacher Mushtaq Ahmed Wani and his wife Fata banoo? The history tells us that whosoever used Army to destroy innocent public, was not spared by the army at the end of the day. The bloodshed allowed in Kashmir today may result in bloodshed in other towns and cities tomorrow in India against indian people.

5. For the last nine years I have been saying that we cannot win freedom in Kashmir trough gun nor can we find the support of World Community for our cause trough the use of gun. We do not need foreign terrorists who have turned their own country into ruins or are doing that even today. (Afganistan and Algaria). In Algeria, the throats of children and women are slit. We, Kashmiris also do not need Islam of your interpretation. Our Islam is of brotherhood, of sufism, of respecst for one another. Those who provide guns to Kashmiri youth are not his friends. In this age we do not want to be identified as terrorists, but as oppressed people asking for justice.

6. I adress those who label truth speaking people as 'agents' and 'perpetrators of Indian occupation'. During these nine years, you have been compassing death of Kashmiri youth and heaping of their corpses like mushroom while contnuing to build your palaces of your dreams. There was a time when you were taking oath of allegiance to india in assemblies and we were languishing in prisons. Then you did call Maqbool Butt-the martyr-as a traitor and an agent. People with self-aggrandisement, in order to protect their salaries, donations and office establishments and privileges in foreign countries, **have covered the truth with thick veneer. I, on my part, am gifted with courage loftier then the Himalayas in protecting the interested of my helpless nation.** I would impress upon you to use the network to find a 'mutual' solution to the real problem, to win the friendship of indian masses and through that friendship pressuries authroties, politations to stop oppression of Kashmiris. I must warn you that as long as you accept the service of your masters tell you to go on abusing indian masses and project Kashmir as a religious issue, you will go on ehausting your days in this meaningless exercise. It should also be remembered that had not the American people risen against the oppression of American troops in Vietnam, American would never have quit that country.

We say that for last nine years Kashmiris are sensitised by slogans of 'jehad' etc. but despite that no country and no nation has come forth to support them. We say that this drama of destruction should be closed and the **PATH OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE** should be adopted. (There are some who are loudly shouting 'ummah' and on that slogan collect large funds and salaries. On the core issues they just sit and talk and go away. What can they achieve when the 'ummah' of their imagination assembles under the banner of imperialists to finish Iraq besides providing 62 billion dollars for the project of destruction). Many well-wishers in foreign countries including no less a personality than retired Air Marshall Noor Khan in Pakistan are advising Kashmiris do not want guns, but 'intifada'.

I, for one, am born from the womb of violence. But if I stress upon rejecting the gun and violence, I do so only for the perpetuation of my nation whose youth are languishing in jails and whose people are passing days in exile.

There are also my compatriots, the Kashmiri Pandits, who are dying through exhaustion in refugee camps. Seven Kashmiri Pandits were killed in Sangrampora by the 'guest militants', three Kashmiri Pandit teachers were gunned down by the same 'guest militants' and eight members of Hindu community were killed from one family in Sawari, Rajouri by the same 'guest militants'.

In 1998, twenty-three (23) Kashmiri Pandits including women and children in Ganderbal on January the 26 was gunned down in a barbaric way. We ask the question: Do you invite 'guest militants' to kill your own compatriot and there by prove that yours is a 'JEHAD'? "Holy War"?

After fighting for forty years, Palestinians are looking for the path of peace. The people in Ireland can speak on their issue. Why can't we Kashmiris talk to Indians and Pakistanis? If the talk begins then the phenomenon of 'fund parties, salaried politicians' and privileged class business concerns come to an end. In the fame of the gun, there are secret funds but in civil disobedience there are not any. I address the fund-raising leaders and I address those who shed crocodile tears on the sufferings of Kashmiris to do some introspection. I would suggest you to read a letter of your own cohort namely 'General Musa' published by Srinagar-based weekly Chattan in its volume 13, no 26 issue of 22 - 28 September 1997 under the heading 'Zindaan ki Cheekh'. This letter is from the a 'General' of Hizbu'l - mujahideen whose father also was killed.

How long are you, servants of self - interest - going to save your skins? My job is to put history in the scales of truth. For this very truth, I have not met my blood relations for the last 27 years.

7. The net should not, therefore, be made to exacerbate Indo - Pakistan enmity. Do not use this net as a Kashmiri fodder for the guns of India and Pakistan. Do not use the net for abusing the nationalists and Kashmiri patriots as the secret agencies do by hiding real names. Do not use your means for spreading violence and the poison of hatred because you have not seen your dear ones and your family members becoming the targets of violence so far. We have seen and met all this and that is why we hate violence, intimidation and oppression. Understand the disheartening picture of helpless Kashmiris, fraud and treachery of leadership, antics of Hurriyat, destitution of youth in prisons, painted by 'General Musa' in his letter mentioned above (word by word translation given hereunder). This letter confirms the contents of my article entitled 'How long business on the dead bodies of Kashmiri youth?'. Let us join to approach Indian leadership and conscientious people of India to build the basis of fraternity among the people in Kashmir and to release all the Kashmiris now languishing in prisons. This needs to be done on the basis of the contents of the letter of 'General Musa'. Let us work together to put an end to hatred, violence, bomb blasts etc. in the sub - continent so that we are able to solve our problems. For this purpose the masses of India, Pakistan and J&K should come together.

The following is the text of 'General Musa's letter :

" Zindan Ki Cheekh "

"Respected Tahir Mohiud - Din sahib, Aslaam Alaikum. Hope you are fine. What should I write; in fact how much should I write. What is there that is not around me, sighs, helplessness, oppression, destitution, bottomless sea of expectations, falling petals from half - blossomed flowers in the prison garden, urgencies, despearings : Not because the travellers are worn out, but because "until yesterday people strewn flowers in my path but the same people are drawing their dagger".

They may not necessarily carry ladders in their hands, tongue can be more than a dagger, pen also replaces a dagger, silences too works for a dagger, lack of interest and carelessness are also a dagger and alienation can be a dagger as well. Rhymes of love and affection on the tongue but hatred and revulsion in mind is as good as a dagger. And all these daggers are being drawn into the hearts of the helpless nation,

affected members, orphans, widows, handicapped and particularly the imprisoned persons. Some appear in the shape of leaders of the caravan of freedom (Hurriyat) ; Some in the shape of well - wishers of freedom (Hurriyat) ; some appear in the guise of 'own people' and some came with latest press note from the press galary. Oh, how are those able to understand or feel the mortification of the prisoners, its helplessness and its destitution who sit in sofas and soft beds giving press conferences and gadding their photographs printed in newspapers. This is not going to make any change in the condition of such prisoners as are on the verge of taking their last breath.

Prisoners died within my sight, young men died, the youth died by inches at the threshold of their life just because they needed legal assistance. There was none in their home. They banked on 'Hurriyat' but they were not their parents to give them affection ; They were not their sisters who would save their brothers even at the cost of their chastity ; They were not their friends so as to come to their help in their hour of suffering. Theirs was a night's bargain, giving a few morsals or a few currency notes and then spend the night, enjoyed the cud of youth and walked away.

Trough you I approach a humanitarian soul to come forward only for providing legal help to the imprisoned persons and dedicate himself to the relief of agonised statues, gaping yearnings, mauled limbs and handicapped and destituted prisoners. Let him not be a dead "Leader", let him not be associated with any organization, let him not be a member of Bar Association, let him not be a 'press supreme', let him not be infatuated with temporary life: Of course, his house may have been burnt, his son killed, his brother seperated from him, his sister molested before his eyes, his property plundered within his sight : He should be sincere, a Muslim and an embodiment of purehumanism, neither a Hindi nor a Khurasani, nor Kashmiri nor Pakistani but the well - wisher of humanism and the sympathy of mankind running deep in his blood. If you happen to find one of this description, kindly send him to the destitute, the broken down, the disabled and demoralised of the caravan of prisoners. May be their devastation - stricken life finds a ray reinstatement ; may be agonised hearts find a flicker of joy ; may be a few remaining breaths would redeem life. Please convey this message to the rest of the well - wishers (verse)

"When I sleep place your lips on these eyes of mine. You may come believe that the heart beats under the eyelids as well".

Hope you are fine, Yours, General Musa (prisoner)

March 1998

ANNEXURES

Annexure A

STATEMENT OF MAQBUL BUTT BEFORE A SPECIAL COURT IN PAKISTAN (GANGA HIJACKING CASE, 1971)

Call it a coincidence or tyranny of the circumstances, I have to stand today in this special court under a special order to defend the charges which are baseless and false.

More appropriately these charges are the creation of a mind that is enemy of the freedom of my country and a cruel joke with the people of Jammu and Kashmir who are fighting for liberaion.

History has given the verdict against those conditions and self-acclaimed rulers of Pakistan who have made me stand in this witness box. This verdict of history is so clear that no further explanation is needed. It has drawn a clear line between us and our hypocritical opponents. I take this proceeding as a compliment for myself and my comrades as future generations will have no confusion about our identity. Thus this command of the holy Quran has proven true about this group of hypocrites: " And when they meet Muslims they say we have become believers and when they are alone with their Satans then say no doubt we are with you. We are just making fun. Allah makes fun of them and encourages their imprudence. The fact is that they have no vision."

By the crime this group is committing against the oppressed people, it was inevitable that they should trap themselves in a situation

where they are unable to escape. I have neither hatched any conspiracy nor been a part of any such group. My role is clear all the way through.

However it is true that I have rebelled against obscurantism, slavery, exploitation, corruption, cruelty, and hypocrisy. If the ruling class of Pakistan, which is a product of imperialist system and is represented by the civil and military bureaucracy, call it conspiracy then I have no hesitation to accept it.

For me this case against us is not unusual at all. During human history whenever exploitation and slavery are challenged the ruling classes have always relied on the word 'conspiracy'. But history proves that in the fight of oppressed against oppressors, eventually the former wins and the oppressive structure is crushed by the revolutionary struggle of the people. I have disliked self-praise but now when my role is being distorted, deliberately, I am forced to claim that at every stage of my life, I have not only supported the peoples struggle against exploitation and oppression but always actively participated in it. I have consciously chosen this role for myself because I see it as sunnah of prophets and it is a way of revolutionaries. I have no doubt about the success of this role and the welfare it brings for the people. I can not refrain from bringing this fact to the notice of this court that apparently only six persons are implicated, the actual motive of this case is to crush our liberation movement.

Pakistani bureaucracy should know that no matter what turns our fate takes as a result of this case, they will achieve nothing but meet disgrace and failure, as far as their actual motive is concerned.

If the struggle for freedom was to be stopped by the court rulings there would have been hardly any free nation on earth today. If the evolution of civilization, democracy and freedom was to be prevented by the existing judicial or administrative system no revolution would have taken place from the beginning of history.

Decisions about the movements for welfare and freedom of people are not made in the existing courts, but the evolutionary process of human history gives the verdict of these movements. For the courts themselves are a product of that system that these movements are aimed to change. It is for this reason that in some cases verdict given by these courts as the present one are proven meaningless and redundant.

It is not possible here to give details of all those conspiracies made against my country and my people. However it is imperative to highlight those aspects of these conspiracies that are used to construct this case.

This is not done by the unmistakable enemies of our people but by the imprudent and wicked 'friends' who have despicably occupied the power in this unfortunate country and have subjugated not only a hundred million of her people but also put its existence at stake by their malicious actions for keeping power in their hands. It is obvious that a leadership which has no sympathy for its own people cannot be hoped that it will extend any friendship to a nation which is still fighting against foreign occupation. No one can stop men from claiming that every ruling power in Pakistan has exploited the Kashmir issue for the last 25 years for its lust for power and abused this issue to mislead the people of Pakistan who have and still do support the freedom of Kashmir. Since power came into the hands of military dictatorship this conspiracy has become even more dreadful. Division of Pakistan is only a logical result of this conspiracy.

This is said that from the day NLF was formed; a conflict was started between our struggle and the bureaucracy and military dictatorship of this country. The roots of this conflict are in the disagreement on aims and strategy. Military rulers of this country never liked our concept of armed struggle. Not only did not they like it, but they always tried to crush any such struggle. The story of such conspicuous incidents is too long to be covered here in detail but it has never come to a stage of branding us as enemies of this country. This time chosen by the military dictators to declare us enemy of the country was that because they were giving the final touches to their conspiracy. It was last week of February 1971. In the President's house in Rawalpindi that the dictators were planning to prevent the transfer of power to the elected members of 130 million people. From its formation to February 24, 1971, no faction of the rulers ever suspected it or its activities, including Ganga hijacking.

However, as part of their conspiracy, the rulers decided to use NLF and Ganga Hijacking on false grounds to justify their anti-people and anti-democracy designs. The initial instructions were issued from President's House Rawalpindi. Inter Services Intelligence Bureau (ISI) was ordered to investigate the hijacking case and keep the freedom fighters away from the public and press. They were transferred to a distant location. Responding to our enquiry we were told that the country is in a crises. To solve the conflict with Mujeebu'r- Rehman on

constitutional matters we need the nation to calm on Kashmir issue. We were also told that Shiekh Mujeeb is for friendly relations with India and does not like to promote any confrontation for we did not want political crisis of Pakistan to be exacerbated. We co-operated and agreed on freedom fighters' transfer to Tanda Dam, district Kohat.

Only a few days later the proposed meeting of national assembly was postponed. Hence the crisis was intensified. What happened in East Pakistan after the declaration of former military dictator was pre-planned. Sheikh Mujeeb was invited for negotiations with the former President in Rawalpindi. When he refused, another declaration was released in March 71 from President's House that former President was going to Dhaka for negotiations. Just one day before, Yahya Khan's departure for Dhaka, it was announced by the foreign office that hijacking case will be investigated. Replying to our explanation we were told that this is to decrease the bitterness during Yahya -- Mujeeb negotiations where it is inevitable that Mujeeb, who has already demanded an enquiry into hijacking, will raise this issue. We were also told that international pressure on Pakistan is also increasing and to prove that Pakistan is not involved in the hijacking we need such measures. We were assured that if necessary, a commission will be formed but it is likely that this stage will not come.

The commission was appointed at the time when Yahya -Mujeeb negotiations entered into concluding stage. The impression was given that the commission is nothing more than an eye-wash. Actual motives were to come out only on March 27, 1971 when military operation was started in East Pakistan. Only two days after this commission started its proceedings as well. Among the three members of the commission, two were from the intelligence department and the third Mr. Rahat Chhattari was the one whose services were terminated by the first elected government of this country under the allegation of corruption.

This chain of events shows that this case had special motive which can be nothing but the search for the justification for civil war situation to which the country is brought by the military dictators. The report compiled by the commission according to the wishes of the rulers has fulfilled their need.

We were arrested on April 14, six days before the report was presented to the President.



Hashim Qureshi 1996 in Amsterdam



Hashim Qureshi, Ashraf Qureshi with the wreckage of burned Gunga Aeroplane (1971)



Hashim Qureshi just after the hijacking (1971)



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Hashim Qureshi greeted by Maqbool Butt (Shaheed)



M. A. Qadri greets Hashim Qureshi



Hashim & Ashraf with Maqbool Butt



Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto greets Hashim at the airport



Hashim Qureshi with Waheed Khan (1992)



Hero of 1971, Gunga event Hashim Qureshi

And to crush our struggle mass arrests were made, memories of which are terrifying. But these rulers who were overwhelmed by the lust of power could not understand that a lie is bound to be defeated. Nature did not take long to give its verdict. The rulers reached their logical end before making us scapegoats.

It is easy to talk about freedom. But it needs a lot more courage and patience to fight for freedom. It is a path where every turn is full of tests. You go through such stages where your own friends on whom you relied, don't want to know you for their vested interests. They, even, leave you and make alliances with enemies.

Struggle is the best criteria to judge not only who is for and against the truth, but also to expose the hypocrites. It is not for freedom fighters to complain about the difficulties they face but in our defence I have personally gone through three stages of state torture; first in occupied Kashmir, then in "Azad Kashmir" and finally in Royal Fort (Shahi Qillah) Lahore, which is the remnant of colonial era. As there is not sufficient time to go into the details, I would give a brief account. At all three places the purpose of torture was completely different. In Indian occupied Kashmir, occupying officers were looking for facts about our movement and about myself. In Muzaffarabad, "Azad Kashmir" the FIU (Federal Intelligence Unit) was not looking for facts, but they wanted me to confirm their assumptions and Gestapos in Lahore Fort were torturing me to tell utter lies and to give a false statement as part of their conspiracy. Only the administrative machinery of the oppressive rulers of this country could have done what was done to us to distort facts and to construct stories and characters.

Some details of the torture, to which we were subjected in Lahore fort, are given by my comrades in their written statements. But there was a lot more done in the Fort. The fact is that some details are so shameful that it is not possible to bring them in writing*.

I leave the decision about what happened in Shahi Qillah (Royal Fort) for the Day of Judgement.

Whatever ruling is given by this court, I can clearly see that it cannot do justice in this case. It is not that I do not trust this court, but it is the contended nature of the allegations made against us, that they can't be defended in the existing conditions. The false nature of these allegations cannot be proved so long as my country is divided. However, it is my faith that the dawn of freedom will appear in my country and the

line of division will disappear. This will be the time when facts about my life will come out. Only then will I get justice and this will be done in the court of history. That day my people will know the reality of the allegations made by both the Indian and Pakistani rulers against me, of being an agent of either India or Pakistan.

During the examination this court has enquired about the suspicion indicated by FIU Major Naseer Gul in his report about my escape from Srinagar prison. Having read this report in full, I maintain that it is totally against the facts and nothing more than a biased view of a military officer. All contradictions, which this 'expert' intelligence officer has pointed out are rooted not in my account of escape, but in his views about peoples' armed struggle. Being a product of colonial rule, Generals hate the concept of peoples' army because it challenges the monopoly of Generals on military resources. It is a historical fact that military dictators have never supported any organisation engaged in liberation war. On the contrary, they have made contacts with the enemies of freedom fighters. During martial regimes, the armed struggles of Palestine, Algeria, Vietnam and other African countries were presented as negative.

The military rulers of Pakistan never supported a peoples' armed struggle in Kashmir. They hated it as much as the Muslims of early period hated pork. It is this hatred of military rulers towards peoples' armed struggle, which has made me and my comrades the target of brutal torture and humiliatiaon.

Finishing here, I would like the court to fulfil its duty which has been assigned to it under a special order. At present I have no other choice but to offer myslef to the merciless hands of time and to wait for the day when the darkness of discrimination and malice, cruelty and exploitation will be replaced by the light of justice. That day I will ask for justice.**

Note:

* We were subjected to brutal torture in Shahi Qillah. If I disclose the details of the shameful treatment to which Butt Sahib has alluded, then these will become cause for virtuous and sincere Pakistanis to hang their heads in shame. Therefore, following in the footprints of my leader, I maintain silence in this matter.

** For conscientious political workers and patriotic Kashmiris as well as impartial observers and rationalists, Butt Sahib's statement given above brings out the following indisputable conclusions:

1. Ganga hijacking case was framed against us by Pakistani military junta and bureaucracy because they needed sacrificial goats for the separation of East Pakistan.

2. Pakistani military junta and rulers have never been sincere to the freedom of the people of Kashmir.

3. Ganga hijacking case was a conspiracy against the rising national liberation movement in Kashmir.

4. After this statement the story given by Alastair Lamb in his police reports - based work *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy* is proved nothing but a heap of falsehoods and concoctions. The rest of demolition exercise is done by the statements of late K.H. Khurshid and Major Rahim Shah together with what transpired in Ashraf Qureshi's meeting with Alastair Lamb and his wife in Lahore, Pakistan, in 1995.

Annexure B

STATEMENT OF LATE K.H. KHURSHID, EX-PRESIDENT, AZAD KASHMIR BEFORE A SPECIAL COURT IN PAKISTAN GANGA HIGHJACKING CASE 1971

I was the Personal Secretary of the Quaid-e-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, from June 1944 to August 1947. Then I became the Personal Secretary of the Quaid-e-Azam in his official capacity as the Governor-General of Pakistan from 14th August 1947 till his death on the 11th September 1948. I took over as President of Azad Kashmir on the May 1, 1959 and I resigned on the 5th August 1964. My political party is known as the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation League. It was formed in 1962 and I hold office as the President of this party. In early 1971 when the Indian plane was hijacked to Lahore airport, I was in Lahore and had the occasion to meet the hijacker Hashim Qureshi.

On receiving a telephonic information on February 2, 1971 at about 7 P.M. that situation was tense at Lahore airport, I drove to the airport and was told that P.I.A had discontinued the food supplies to the hijackers on some technical ground.

Sardar Abdul Vakil Khan, the S.S.P. of Lahore airport took me and Maqbool Butt to the room where Hashim was sitting next to a table. Hashim told Maqbool Butt that these officers had asked him to burn the plane. Maqbool Butt suggested that burning the plane would not serve any purpose and instead it should be slightly damaged, glasses and windows may be broken. He thought this would get some publicity. Engineers would consider it repairing and that could give time to the Government of India to consider releasing the arrested persons. While leaving

the place after about ten minutes, Sardar Abdul Vakil Khan S.S.P. uttered in Urdu "*Khuda ke lie hamari jan chhorh do jahaz ko urha do*" (for God's sake spare our lives and destroy the plane). As we left, Hashim was taken away by the police officers whom I did not know. Sardar Aabdul Vakil Khan and Baqar Ali Shah both went with Hashim and we came to join the crowds awaiting there. As we did so somebody said that the plane had been set on fire.

I knew Abdul Mannan since 1944 in Jammu as the columnist for the weekly Javed edited by one Hayat Saghir. This paper was the chief exponent of the Pakistan ideology in Jammu & Kashmir State at that time. I met Abdul Qayyum Khan in Karachi in 1958 for the first time. I knew Maqbool Butt in Peshawar and they were of the ideology of the right of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir. But there were differences between NLF and Plebiscite Front. We believed that Azad Kashmir Government should be treated as a Revolutionary Provisional Government of AK and should be given a freehand in the conducting of freedom movements and doing all things for the purpose of the achievement of freedom. NLF believed in not waiting for recognition of the freedom movement. It could go a head with what it wanted to do including armed struggle. Three years ago I came to know that the militant branch by the name of National Liberation Front had been set up. Azad Kashmir territories, as they are known, do not include Gilgit and Baltistan but our organization believes that all parts of the state on the west of cease fire line should be under Azad Kashmir Government. Government of India did not exercise jurisdiction over Baltistan but some parts of Gilgit. In 1934-35, there was a lease agreement between the Maharaja's government and the Government of India and these areas (Gilgit) were leased out to the British Government with whose passing off, all leases, treaties, agreements were held null and void, and the territories reverted to State control. I do not know the details of how Gilgit and Baltistan were liberated from Dogra rule in November 1947. But I learnt that there was a local revolt by Muslim officers who were in the State forces and in the occupied Gilgit Fort. They sent a telegram to the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of Pakistan to send representatives after November 1, 1947.

Ghulam Nabi Gilkar was one of the candidates at the elections in AK and his political programme was that Kashmir should be an independent sovereign state. During my tenure as President, Azad Kashmir, certain elements were carrying out the propaganda in favour of and independent Kashmir. There is no law in AK which would make any person liable to penal action for propagating the idea of a sovereign

independent State. However when Sheikh Abdullah visited AK in 1964, an officer of Government of Pakistan suggested that some individuals who were carrying on propaganda for an independent Kashmir should be arrested. Sheikh Abdullah was accompanied by nearly forty foreign and Indian correspondents. I thought arresting some persons would create tension. The idea of arresting some people was dropped by the Government of Pakistan.

My views on Kashmir may be identical to the views of Mrs. Indira Gandhi but the difference is that Mrs. Indra Ghandi claims it as a integral part of India whereas our party says that it should be decided by the free will of the Kashmiris. I cannot recall any instance of subversion by G.M. Lone who was a member of the State Council and sat in opposition. Various attempts were made for bringing all the Kashmir parties together, and in that the Plebiscite Front members were included. G.M. Lone, the accused, was fairly active so that a United Front of all the Kashmir parties be created.

The last communication from Sheikh Abdullah to me was in 1969 when he was holding J&K Peoples' Convention which certainly the Government of India did not like at all.

I know Ghulam Mohiuddin Karra who originally belonged to National Conference but later on set up Kashmir Political Conference. Pandit Raghunath Vashnavi was its head and Ghulam Mohiuddin Karra was the General Secretary. Political Conference openly worked for Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. From Sheikh Abdullah's communication about Peoples' Convention in 1969, I gathered that representatives from Indian Occupied Kashmir, Azad Kashmir and those in England would get together in a Convention and chalk out some line of action which would be in consonance with the principles of self-determination. When we talk of self-determination, it means no restrictions. It means that the people want to decide about their future in accordance with the UN Resolutions which restricted the choice of Indians. I think that the attitude of the Government of Pakistan towards Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah has been that the Sheikh is a sincere man, he should be respected, honoured and that he has followed a patriotic line and suffered for this cause, suffered for his objectives and they hold him in very high esteem.

The present State Assembly where the ruling party is in a majority, it has passed a resolution to the effect that Gilgit and Baltistan should administratively and legally be made parts of Azad Kashmir. This was done in its last session and the resolution was moved by the ruling party. Late Chowdhury Ghulam Abbas had made so many offers to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah with regard to negotiations about Kashmir.

I do not know to which one the Honourable Court refers to. In 1964, when Sheikh Abdullah came to Rawalpindi, a public meeting was held. In this meeting late Chowdhury Ghulam Abbas made an offer to him that he was following his design and he acknowledged Sheikh Abdullah as his leader.

During the days when the period of hijacking of the Indian plane, my brother Javed who is a Major in Pakistan army was stationed at Lahore Airport. I think he was present when I went to the Lahore Airport although I did not see him there myself. On August 23, 1965, I was arrested from the house of Mir Waiz Muhammad Yusuf Shah. Actually I was bodily lifted from Asghar Mall, Rawalpindi and was put on a jeep and taken to Palandheri. I was kept in Palandheri and then taken to Muzaffarabad. Regarding my views about the future status of Kashmir State, I believe that the State will ultimately accede to Pakistan.

It is not true that the accused Mir Abdul Qayyum, and Mir Abdul Mannan were working for me during the previous election. In the first election in 1961, some of the accused had supported me, but in the last election they boycotted the elections and they had also criticised our stand. I remember that a weekly paper by the name of *Preze Kashmir* was published from Muzaffarabad which was closed down after three or four issues; its editor was one Bukhari. This paper was not banned. It stopped publication because the Government press refused to publish it. In Azad Kashmir territory, there is no printing press except the one which is owned by the Government itself. The paper *Press Kashmir* was allowed to be printed from the Government Press, but since they were criticising the Government policy, we advised them to stop its printing.

As I have already said, Sardar Vakil Khan, S.S.P. Lahore told Hashim Qureshi in my presence to burn the hijacked plane. I did not report this matter to police because I, by my own experience can expect anything out of the officers of the Government of Pakistan. Therefore, I was not surprised at the suggestion,

and I did not take any steps to report to anybody. I made two attempts explaining my views that the plane, the passengers and the members of the crew should be handed over to the Azad Kashmir Government. This was after the burning of the plane probably on February 3, 1971. I did not convey to anybody that Sardar Vakil Khan had, in my presence, told Hashim to burn the plane.

Annexure C

STATEMENT OF MAJOR RAHIM SHAH BEFORE A SPECIAL COURT IN PAKISTAN GANGA HIJACKING CASE, 1971

Deposition made on January 18, 1972

On January 30, 1971, I was posted at Headquarters 10 Div., Lahore. At about 1 P.M. I received a telephonic message from GSO - I Intelligence, Lt. Col. Hashmatullah Khan, that an Indian aircraft had been hijacked and that I should go to the airport and control the situation there. It took me 3 to 4 minutes to reach the airport. Near the P.A.F. Traffic Control, I found some members of the PIA staff and two Army officers present there. One of them was an engineer officer who had earlier been rung up by the PIA staff. His name was Major Qamar. I was told that the hijackers were standing in the gangway and were threatening to blow up the aircraft if any one tried to go near them. In disregard to the threat, I drove up to the aircraft because in case he tried to blow up the aircraft with a hand-grenade, he too would have been killed. While I was driving towards the aircraft he shouted at me to stop, but I proceeded ahead. On the Tarmac my jeep went almost near the left wing of the aircraft and I asked Ashraf what did he want. He told me that his companion had gone to telephone Dr. Farooq Haidar, he was expected back by some time, and in case he did not return he would blow up the plane. Ashraf was standing in the gangway facing outside. The air-hostess and the steward were standing almost next to him, that is, the air-hostess was standing behind him and the steward was standing close to him. The pilot was in the cockpit. Cockpit was visible from outside,

Only ten minutes were left according to the time given by Ashraf, whereafter he was to blow up the aircraft. So I rushed to the PIA office. I found Hashim, accused, talking to Dr. Farooq Haider on telephone.

Ashraf was standing 5 - 6 inches beyond the aircraft door and was all the time stooping while engaged in talking to me. He also stepped into the luggage cabin once or twice. The passengers were not visible to me. The door leading to the passengers' cabin was open, the air-hostess was standing in the door, and was also engaged serving refreshments to the passengers. The local PIA staff had brought tea and other refreshments which were passed on to the air-hostess and the steward who, in turn, served them to the passengers. I saw this operation myself. This was, after I had returned to the aircraft from the PIA office. Ashraf was then standing in the doorway with him, face outside. At times he would turn to left and to his right and look at the pilot.

After Hashim talked to Dr. Farooq Haider, I rushed in to the aircraft in my own jeep. On the way I convinced him (Hashim) that he was in Pakistan and told him that I was Major in the Pakistan Army and asked him to allow the passengers to disembark so that they may be comfortable. On reaching the aircraft, Hashim told Ashraf that the passengers should be permitted to disembark, but they will leave behind their baggage and would not be permitted to carry with them their personal baggage. He also told Ashraf that whenever he wanted back the passengers, they will come back to the aircraft, will get their goods, because they were their property. After the passengers and the crew had walked down, I told the PIA Staff to take them to the PIA arrival lounge. Soon after Hashim rushed behind me. He demanded that the Captain of the aircraft had taken away with him a hand bag which should be returned. Captain Kitchlew there, opened his bag and took out three or four letters whereupon he said that he was to post those at Amritsar. Hashim allowed him to take those letters. The bag contained a map, a torch, and a number of letters which the Captains usually carry with them. The passengers disembarked from the rear door, while the crew got down from the front left door. The first 3 - 4 passengers jumped down from the aircraft before the steps were brought. The remaining passengers got down through the gangway. Among the passengers there was an old lady who could not get down without the gangway. While the passengers and the crew had disembarked, Hashim stood on the Tarmac with a pistol in his hand, while Ashraf stood in the front door looking towards the passengers' cabin as well as towards cockpit.

When I first reached the aircraft, I saw Ashraf holding a hand-grenade partly stuck up in his pocket and partly visible in his hand and

he continued to hold this hand-grenade throughout in the same position. When I brought Hashim back from the PIA office after he had a talk with Dr. Farooq Haider, he was holding the pistol in his right hand which was partly inside his pocket and partly outside. From the PIA office to the hijacked aircraft Hashim kept the pistol in his hand in the same position.

When we arrive, Hashim took out the pistol, it was then visible to me. The pistol looked like 9 MM Walther. Up to the time I had brought Hashim back to the aircraft and followed the passengers after they had disembarked, Hashim did not mention to me that the pistol he was holding in his hand was a dummy pistol. The pistol Exh.P.4/1 is the same which Hashim showed to us on the following day after he had become very friendly. In fact, he had put it on the chest of one of our Army officers. I remember that it was the same pistol which he was holding on the first day.

I have served in the Army for seventeen years. I was Instructor of weapons and Tactics in Infantry School, Quetta. I thought the pistol held by Hashim was smaller than 9 MM Walther, because it was so small that Hashim could hide it in his hand. I happened to possess one and will show that it can be hidden in one hand.

It was not my duty to disarm Hashim. On my inquiry they told us at about 3 P.M. that they had seen a Border Security Force Mail Bag being placed in the aircraft. I suggested to them that we should search the aircraft and catch hold of the mail bag which might contain some very valuable information.

The search of the mail bags ended at about 11 P.M. During this period Hashim and Ashraf became friendly with us. We served them with food, tea and pastries. Hashim did not take out his pistol during this period. Ashraf was very vigilant during all this period and he changed his hand-grenade from one hand to another hand. Ashraf complained of headache, whereupon I told him to put the pin in it and place the same in his pocket in order to relieve his muscles. But he said that he would not do so as it was his duty to be vigilant all the time.

During this period it occurred to me that I should disarm both Hashim and Ashraf if it was so required. I then inquired from the Chief Secretary at about 5 and 5.30 who was in the VIP lounge whether he wanted me to disarm the hijackers. The Chief Secretary said no, the hijackers had not to be disarmed as it was

only the Central Government to take proper decision in that respect.

I saw Ashraf holding a hand-grenade only when I was standing on the Tarmac and he was standing in the front door. Later on, when I entered the aircraft to carry out search along with my two other officers, Ashraf kept the grenade throughout in his pocket. I did not, therefore, see it during this period. I did not see the pin of the grenade hanging out. I believe that it had been taken out and placed by Ashraf in his pocket or somewhere else. When a hand-grenade explodes, its splinters spread over an area of 8x8 yards. If there are 100 persons they will all be killed. A hand-grenade has about thirty-six pieces.

I will not be able to identify the pistol PW.1/4 from a distance of 10 - 12 feet. During the period Hashim was holding it only a part of the barrel was visible, the rest was stuck up in his pocket. He held the pistol in the same position when I brought him back to the aircraft after he had telephoned to Dr. Farooq Haider. On the second or third day of the hijacking of the aircraft, Hashim jocularly put his pistol at the chest of one of my officers when I came to know that it was a dummy pistol.

It is incorrect that I came to know that the pistol carried by Hashim was a dummy pistol. I brought Hashim alone from PIA office to the hijacked aircraft while PIA officials followed us in their own vehicle. I did not talk to them. If a hand-grenade is blown in a room like the room in which we are present it will not catch fire unless there is some inflammable material.

I had the matter of the safety of the aircraft in my mind but since the Chief Secretary told me that the whole matter was in the hands of the Central Government, I had not taken the safeguard of the blowing of the plane. This is only after the hijackers had become familiar. It occurred to me that they could be disarmed. Early before that this thought did not occur to me nor was it my duty. It also required sometime to study the habits of the hijackers before an attempt was made to disarm them.

As for the question of disarming the hijackers, unless I was told by some authority to disarm them, it was not my function to do so. I did not make any query from Col. Hashmat as to what I was expected to do. I told my immediate boss that an Indian aircraft had been hijacked and passengers had disembarked, and that two passengers were attempting to blow the aircraft. Besides that I had no talk with any other officer. My

boss did not instruct me to remove the hijackers from the aircraft. If I was given such instructions, I would have tried to disarm the hijackers. But after the aircraft had been burnt I told my G.I that I was in a position to disarm the hijackers.

My statement was recorded by the police in July 1971. I first saw the Chief Secretary, the I.G. police, the Deputy Commissioner and SSP in the VIP lounge at about 3 P.M. The I.G. was inside the lounge while the Deputy Commissioner and SSP were outside the lounge. I and the two officers searched the aircraft and remained there throughout. The mail bag which we opened was not a full. The bag contained a number of small bags which were all sealed. We entered the aircraft between 3 and 3.30 P.M. to undertake the search and remained busy till 11 P.M. as stated by me earlier.

We had the address of the letters and those others which we considered of some significance to our intelligence unit who passed them on to the headquarters. By removing the mail bags, we were not diminishing the chances of the return of the plane. The removal of the mail bag would have diminished the value of any military intelligence contained in those letters but not otherwise. In fact I re-sealed the bag but the seal affixed at that time did not tally with those which were affixed by Indian authorities on them. I asked about this from Hashim who said that he would burn the mail bag and next day it was burnt as the photo appeared in next day's newspapers. When Hashim suggested to me that he would burn the mail bag. I agreed to it and in fact we helped him in burning the mail bag.

With regard to the frequency of my meeting with Hashim and Ashraf till the time the hijacked aircraft was burnt, I state that I met both of them about 12 or 13 times during the four days that the hijacked aircraft was at Lahore. I took tea with both of them. Ashraf and Hashim had their own store of food. They offered it to me but I did not share it. I last met them on January 1, 1971. I again saw them when they were in the Service Hospital, Lahore where they were taken after the aircraft had been burnt. It is incorrect to say that the burning of the aircraft was discussed by Hashim and Ashraf with me at any time.

I first saw the SSP near the aircraft towards the evening. Otherwise I had seen him earlier near the passengers lounge. I helped Hashim and Ashraf in burning the mail to put up a cover story that the entire mail in the bag had been destroyed. In

regard to the release of the passengers, Hashim had also in the first instance opposed the release.

By the instructions given to me by Col Hashmat to control the situation, I understood that I was to protect the aircraft and ensure safety of the passengers and the crew. Col. Hashmat gave these instructions because he was G.S.C.I. of the Martial Law Administrator and in that capacity he was concerned with the safety of the hijacked aircraft. Actually General Tikka Khan was the Martial Law Administrator and my G.O. Sub-Martial Law Administrator. Similarly I was a staff officer though I was not working on the Martial Law side on that day. I have already said that when the police took over the aircraft I was no longer responsible for safeguarding the aircraft. An officer of the CID Department at first did not permit me and two of my officers for carrying on the search of the aircraft but he permitted us to go inside the aircraft when I told that the Chief Secretary had allowed us to carry on a search in the aircraft.

We undertook the search because the Civil Intelligence Department personnel are not conversant and could not make out as to which of the letters were of military value. Later on we were joined by an ISI personnel in the aircraft. His name was Maj. Qureshi. Most probably the hijackers offered me the Kashmiri food on January 31, 1971 but I cannot deny the suggestion that it might be February 1, 1972. I do not know about any police officers eating Kashmiri food. I do not remember if any person other than the army officer was present at the aircraft or whether they had taken the Kashmiri food. The food offered by the hijackers did not belong to them. They had picked it up from the passenger's baggage. It was Maj. Javed (of military) who eat the food and talked with the hijackers in Kashmiri. On the first night we gave Kashmiri tea to the hijackers which they had asked from us. When I first heard that Hashim and Ashraf had hijacked the Indian aircraft my first impression was that they had done a laudable task.

Annexure D

DR. FAROOQ HAIDER'S LETTERS AND APPLICATION TO THE SPECIAL COURT

Kashmir freedom fighters were subjected to torture by several agencies during their internship in connection with the Ganga hijacking case. Efforts were made to extract from them statements against Maqbool Butt and my self. One of these freedom fighters was Dr. Farooq Haider who described the tortures he had undergone in his various letters. Here we reproduce these faithfully.

Hashim Qureshi.

Dear Brother M. Mir Sahib,
Lahore Fort
Hashmi Sahib.
June 5, 1971

Aslaam Alaikum.

I have lost hope of life at this moment. The police has lashed me and given me electric shocks. For several weeks I lay unconscious. The police is demanding that I depose against Maqbool Sahib and Hashim Sahib. I am told that Gogi (Javed Saghar) has been shot dead. I am the lone survivor. They are attempting to dishonour me. Please save me for God's sake. Produce a bail in the court. I shall wait for three days and if nobody helps, I shall understand that all of you are dead and that I am

also dead. I shall now give a false statement as desired by the police. I wish this letter reaches you.

Brotherly,

Farooq

G.M. Mir Sahib
C/o Mumtaz Hashimi, advocate Mirpur
Azad Kashmir

(Note: This letter has been put on the original file by Jenab G.M. Mir, Acting Secretary General, J&K Plebiscite Front (for Azad Kashmir and Pakistan).

In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

From the Prison House
March 22, 1972

Dearer than life Ansari Sahib, Aslaam Alaikum

A co-prisoner with us here is called Yasin Dukhi Lahori. The poetry of freemen is also free. I give heer some of his verses (Verses in Urdu).

Ansari Sahib, I cannot find the ointment for the wounds. Time does not seem to have its remedy. The remedy is that these wounds be raked and deepened. Ansari Sahib, you might have heard of the sect called "malamatiya". The police had thrown round my neck a cannister full of dirt. I dipped my shoes into it and slapped them on their face. Ansari Sahib, "when I say that I am an Indian agent, why then does the court ask me this question?" "Now it is proved that your organization and you are gaenuine and it is proved also that you were financially well off and the brutal merder of your elder brother is still in your mind. Do you still maintain that you joined NLF for the sake of money"?

Ansari Sahib, tell me for God's sake how am I to prove that I am an Indian agent? We are so loyal that when we speak this lie with our tongue, nobody is prepared to accept it. Why, after all?

For God's sake, also tell me when I say that the Indian aircraft was hijacked on the instance of the Indian Intelligence agency, why does the following statement come out from my diary". 36 members of AL FATAH arrested. A.I.R. reports claim that whole of the organization is wiped out. Let them be happy. Next time we will strike more severely".

Why was the aircraft hijacked just a month after this ? Kindly tell me that when I say in the full court that NLF has no connection with Al Fatah, why does the following statement appear in my diary". Srinagar Radio says that students organization Youngmens association and National Liberation Front were linked with Al Fatah."

Ansari Sahib, I have now decided to keep pen-name as "Indian Agent". This is so because in future whenever the police accuses anybody of being an Indian agent, there can be no better a certificate of being loyal to this country than that accusation.

"Tyranny and oppression are tolerated by a man. I am also made of flesh and bones as others are. But in this fort, there are occasions when a man out of share frustration calls for the angel of death but the angel does not appear. Hanging upwards down, lashing and giving electric shocks is a commonplace torture method. Have you ever heard the name of Sherwali cell or a cell of cobras or of spiders where sugar is rubbed onto the leg of human beings and insect are let loose to eat it up.

There is a cup- like thing in which an insect that makes a hole into the earth is kept. A tube is attached to this cup by which air is gradually taken out and then this cupped insect is placed on the navel of man. Two things happen. One that the cup sticks to body and secondly when the insect inside feels the lack of air, it begins to scratch the navel. Anyway, these are common things.

The S.P. who, on listening just a whimper from Javed Saghar would hide under the table, becomes a Pharaoh in the presence of twenty strong men. We do not know what thing you placed inside our souls. The darker it is, the brighter is that thing within us. Once I was put in a strong frame and was given electric current shocks. One of the shocks was long enough to harden my body. When my head fell backwards, the tyrant told me that the wooden slippers on the ceiling of the room were brought by Akbar by Kashmir. I told them that the sleepers had supported the ceiling of your prison for centuries and you are now adamant to set them on fire. He said that the Kashmiris were always the agents and that this happened to be our profession.

I told them that unless the snow melted from the mountain tops of my country, milk would not come down in the breasts of your mothers. The difference between me and the others is that my daughters had the privilege that Buttt Sahib had put his munificent hand on their hand. My wife and my sisters used to send food for Hashim. This sun of freedom had risen from my house.

In the custody of police was a writing of my sister in which she had sent a message to Hashim in code words about arms. Dr. Farooq has given in. I could not have seen the dishonouring of my mother, sisters, wife and daughters. I surrendered my arms. Still they did not trust me. They asked me to turn towards the Shahi Mosque and swear in the name of God and his Prophet that I would not renege from my pledge. Then the tyrants let me loose.

Ansari Sahib, I have been looted, I have lost everything. When my wife came to see me in the jail after I had deposed, she was in tears. I told her that she and the womenfolk of my house were responsible for this day. I wish Dr. Farooq Haider had no sister, no wife, no daughter. My wife reported that the next day after my deposition, my elder daughter, still reading in class one, asked her, "Mummy, what is an agent?" My wife told me that were not many respectable families humiliated in 1947. How were we different? What can be my answer to this and how am I to explain to my daughter what agent means?

Ansari Sahib, What am I say to the mother whose eyes had fixed the gaze on my lips. I have been done great injustice but I hope God Almighty may have something good for me. Perhaps the people were to know in full detail the real face of our organization. Perhaps the God desired that the greatest dictator of Pakistan calls us traitors and the supreme institution of justice gives us a certificate of loyalty so that this tantrum is closed once for all. I shall not stop until I have taken their "Kharak Sing" to the other side of Ravi along with the Indian forces.

Ansari Sahib, I had once told you that God was making our job easier this way. Sometimes I doubt that there is a saint among us. The word of atheism was disliked by Allah. Therefore in order to maintain the cover for himself and this saint, He made me to give this statement. God alone knows the secrets of mysterious world.

Yahya Khan has been decimated (by us) and now remains the turn of "Kharak Singh". The last scene will come to an end with Indira. The funeral of Indian Imperialism will be carried out from Kashmir. I can

see it clearly with my own eyes. I am listening to the music of the waters of Jhelum. I am listening to the mirthful songs of the boatmen and I am drinking the waters of Wular. As far as Jammu is concerned, I consider him a kafir who calls a Kashmiri as a man from Jammu or from Poonch. We all are one and of course destiny is different for each of us. Somebody gets the crown and somebody is humiliated. You cannot do anything in that case nor can I do. It lies in the hands of our master whomsoever he wants to give honour is honoured and whomsoever he would put to shame, that happens. God desired this for me and I should only thank him that at least he has not forgotten me in whatever position I may be.

Ansari Sahib, I have preserved the black cap of NLF in the jail. I got a military man's service shirt. The day I am freed from here, the beauty will exhibit its glamour and love will have its own fancy. It has to be known that one aspect of love is humiliation. I am gifted with this quality. Then again we shall walk along the roads of Azad Kashmir and Dr. Farooq will be on the wheel. The songs of freedom will be on his lips-Insha Allah .

Keep "Kharak Singh" with care because if he slips out of hand, then for the entire life this objective cannot be achieved. Basharat Sahib had come to meet me yesterday. I warned him. Tell him on his face that until I take him back to the other side of Ravi to Kathua, I shall not rest. Now we have become incidental and have seen the worst type of torture by police. Alavi Sahib must be smiling. What about snuff? Does it continue or not? How about Sabir Sahib? Of course they will be in the jails. Now the people must come openly in the field. These devils have not let even a single person of our group to stay outside. Otherwise they should know how one Momin is far more strong than several Kafirs. You are privileged to be breathing freely in my and your dear native land. The confluence of Neelam and Jhelum is coming closer to you. The sound of gushing waters comes to your ears. There is some space left and I write down a poem I recently composed. This is also my weakness.

Salaam to Alavi Sahib and others. Wa Asalaam.

Yours Brotherly

Dr. Farooq Haider

(Police framed 'Indian Agent' alias Approver)

Note:

The Approver Dr. Farooq Haider has sent an application to the Special Court and requested that he be recalled to the court so that he exposes the stories framed by the police and gives a statement based on facts that the court arrives at the truth and does justice to the freedom fighters.

In the Special Court constituted under Criminal Procedure Special Court 1970 vide Presidential order No. 13, 1971 issued at Lahore.

State (plaintiff) versus Mohammed Hashim and others (accused)
Crimes under Section PPc 435 - 342-B/120 of section 31 Official secrets Act sub item 3 Enemy Agents Ordinance

Application for summoning the plaintiff for submitting statement based on facts

Sir, I submit as under :

1) I appeared in the above mentioned case as an approver.

2) The statement which I gave in the court was made as the result of intimidation and harassment by the police.

3) I was arrested during the martial law period. The section of police to which I was handed over tried all the methods of torture. Not only were lashes inflicted on my body, I was also given electric current shocks. I was tortured. For weeks at end, I was suspended upside down. I was stripped of all clothes and made to go about in burning sun. For several days at a stretch I was not allowed to sleep. Once I had fallen half dead as a result of torture, I was informed that Javed Saghar, the only son of my sister was shot dead. This news made me out of my mental balance for several hours. When I came to my senses, the police told me that they were sending for my mother, sisters and my wife into the fort. The police telephoned my mother in Rawalpindi in my presence and enquired where was my wife. I was told that all of them would be summoned into the fort and that they would be abused. After this threat, I lost whatever perseverance I had in me.

4) I am administered intoxicating drugs. I can give its full details in the court. Police officers used to come inside the jail into my room and issued threats to me. They would make me memorize the statement

which they themselves had prepared. At a time when I was brought to the court to depose before it, I had lost all balance.

5) I do not think human beings have ever been tortured like myself. I could not see the honour of my family members being put at stake. We had disclosed to Noorul Arifin Commission about our party decisions. The police also intercepted the letter from my sister in which she had written to Maqbool Butt about harms in a code language. This letter has been recovered from our house. The police had come to know that my wife used to send cooked food for Hashim. The police now wanted to bring the womenfolk of my house to the fort and humiliate them. These circumstances made me lose my balance and I prepared myself for speaking the truth. The police succeeded in seeing to it that its story was being accepted. I shall submit further details before the court.

6) The story of Article 164 is heart-rending. I was blind folded and taken to several places. The impression was given that I am before a magistrate. If I spoke about tortures inflicted on me, the fake magistrate would send me to the police custody. In this way, the police would renew its process of torturing me. Having gone through these conditions at least twice, I almost broke down and stop speaking of oppression.

7) A police officer made me learn by heart all that was being poured into my ears from morning till evening. I had to learnt a story by rote only to save myself from a life-taking punishment. This had to be repeated. This system continued until the time that in Your Lordship's court my statement came to an end after answering the questions.

Dr.Farooq Haider
Kotlakhpat Jail, Lahore.

PART TWO

Interview 1

CO-HIJACKER ASHRAF QURESHI INTERVIEWED BY THE FRONTIER POST WEEKLY MAGAZINE HORIZONS, MARCH 1992.

Ganga : the real story

In a talk with Horizons , Ashraf Qureshi, one of the two who hijacked Ganga, narrates the event and attempts to explain some of the controversies attached to it.

"The Kashmir issue was in the UN and India had failed to fulfil the promise it had made regarding our right of self-determination. There exists a feeling of betrayal - we feel that our rights have been usurped. There exists a sentiment of forced slavery which made the Kashmiris active. Everybody pitches in and contributes to their struggle for freedom. Till the 1965 war everyday we used to think : tomorrow our Pakistani brothers would be here to liberate us. Azad Kashmir was considered the base camp from where help will come. But an entire generation in Occupied Kashmir waited in vain. In 1965 commandos were sent from Pakistan for aid but the plan (Operation Gibraltar) was fraught with major flaws. The guerrillas were not familiar with that culture and neither was Kashmiri their mother tongue. Therefore, they were easily spotted as being different from the locals. In spite of this they were successful to some extent. That was why India was forced to attack

Lahore to alleviate pressure in Kashmir. But the result was tabulated in Tashkent, where a war won on the battlefield was lost on the table.



Ashraf Qureshi greeted by Maqbool Butt (Shaheed)

Why did Ayub lose the war in Tashkent when he was sinning it through operation Gibraltar and Bhutto was also unwilling to support him?

Bhutto disagreed mainly because we were losing. There was a lot of pressure from USSR and America on us to enter this pact. Our leaders

were also weak, mainly because they didn't have a democratic base and consequently public support. That is why with Tashkent began Ayub's fall. Many of our notables G.M. Lone, Mir Mannan, Mir Qayyum, and others kept these events in mind. They were also following the other freedom movements going on in Palestine and Algeria. They decided that they should also start a Kashmiri freedom movement. Government (in this case Pakistan) could be under international pressure but if the movement were in the hands of the freedom fighters then it could not be contained by international treaty. Thus they established the National Liberation Front (JKNLF). First they formed the Mahaz-e Rai Shumari (Plebiscite Front). It was formed by Maqbul Butt, Mir Qayyum, Mir Mannan, G.M. Lone, Pir Nazki, Ghulam Mustafa Alvi, Ansari Sahib were the main people. The militant wing of the Mahaz-e-Ray Shumari was called National Liberation Front. Then Maqbul Butt and Retd. Maj. Amanullah (brother-in-law of Amanullah of JKLF) were sent to Kashmir where they mobilised the masses for freedom and trained the volunteers in a forest near the border. Maqbul Butt gave psychological training and Maj. Amanullah the militant content. In the sixties freedom movements all over the world did not stay non-violent. The movement in Kashmir also became an armed struggle. It was financed by individuals such as Mir Mannan, Mir Qayyum, G.M. Lone, freedom fighters and Pakistani industrialists.

The whereabouts of the training camps was leaked and the Indian forces seized the mujahideen after a clash in which one Indian officer was killed and a freedom fighter, Aurangzeb, martyred. In 1968 Maqbul Butt escaped after breaking out of the jail in Srinagar. When he came to Pakistan, he underwent a thorough interrogation and was kept in a fort in Muzaffarabad till he was declared 'white' - meaning totally clear of all suspicion. After his release, he continued his operations, such as Operation Thunder, Operation Romana. He would train guerrillas here and then send them to Jammu because there were a number of ammunition dumps there. India would say that Pakistanis were doing these activities but our government wouldn't say that it was being done by the Kashmiris. The credit for these activities was taken by the so-called Ministry of Kashmir Affairs. All Kashmiri parties are united in insisting that this ministry should be abolished. Even at that time they had made a business out of this issue. They would tell the government about cost of the operation and bag that as well as the credit.

All this time India was calling Kashmir its *atoot ang* meaning inseparable part. During this time Laila Khalid hijacked a plane and so brought the Palestine issue in international focus. Our leadership was inspired by her and decided to make a similar effort. (Maqbul Butt was

the General Secretary and Abdul Khalique Ansari the president of the party)

When Maqbul Butt met Hashim in Peshawar, he found him the right person for the job and sent him to Occupied Kashmir. There Hashim established the student wing of National Liberation Front where I was enrolled. Hashim came back to Pakistan where he was given training for hijacking. The hand -grenade and pistol were sent across the border by a courier. However, the courier was a double agent and our arms were seized by the Indians. Thereafter we carved a hand grenade and pistol out of wood, took a dagger each and boarded the plane bound for Jammu.

Hashim went inside the cockpit and I controlled the passengers. Because there wasn't enough fuel we couldn't take the plane to Rawalpindi. We contacted Lahore airport authorities who were very helpful and guided us to the airport.

The Government of Pakistan was aware of the hijack plan but was not actively involved in its formulation and implementation.

At Lahore, where we contacted Dr. Farooq Haider, the airport authorities were very cooperative and there was no impression that we were to be arrested. But then the people and the Government have always had different sentiments in Pakistan. At the Lahore airport, Agha Afzal, Commissioner, Lahore and army authorities took the passengers away. We were very young and did not realise that passengers were more important than the actual plane.

Bhutto (Z.A. Bhutto ed.) , who had resigned by then, came on the second day. He was the first political leader to meet us. He congratulated us and assured the support of his party.

Our main demands were to get our political prisoners in India freed, to be accorded political asylum and given the assurance that our relatives in Occupied Kashmir would not be harmed.

Setting the plane on fire was not in our plan. Because the longer the plane stayed there, the longer would it have attracted attention. The leadership had decided to hand it over to the UN authorities together with a demand for our freedom. We were made to set ablaze the plane and SSP Lahore, and DSP Baqir Ali Shah provided us the petrol for burning it.

We were told that the continual presence of the plane would create a law and order situation and that India was pressurising the government for the return of the plane. We got hurt by the flames and the SSP took us to Service Hospital in his own car. We were heroes at the time, people would take our autographs, newborn boys were named after us, and huge processions were taken out.

By that time pressure from the USSR, America, India had been mounting on the Pakistani government. It was then that we learnt about the international rules about hijackers: they are either returned to the country whose plane they hijack or undergo a trial where the plane is taken. We were taken to Tanda Dam near Kohata, and interrogated by Arbab Mmukhtar Khaleel, then first secretary in China, and someone from the military intelligence. It was a verbal interrogation and their report was in our favour. The main aim of the interrogation was to determine whether the hijacking was an Indian ploy to delink West Pakistan from East Pakistan and an excuse to attack Pakistan.

India attacked Pakistan in December 1971. What was the need to wait for almost a year? If Pakistan had broken this ploy almost a year ago they should have done something to avoid the war. But if India had wanted to do so would it have chosen Kashmiri hijackers? Why not someone from Bengal? The de-linking of the air link was no excuse because the formal pact between the two countries about the air - route had expired in 1965. There was an adhoc agreement for the flights to cross Indian borders. India had demanded monetary compensation for the gutted plane but the Pakistani government rejected it. It was then that India refused all permission. In the International Court, India provided evidence that Pakistani government was aware of the hijacking plan before its implementation.

We were told later on that Bhutto had met our leadership at Hotel International and offered to surround it where the passengers were staying. However, the passengers had already been sent to India by road.

Sardar Qayyum offered the leadership 10 lac rupees and huge processions for Hashim and myself if credit of the hijacking was given to his party Al - Mujahid.

In Yahya's time, another commission called Noorul-Arifeen Commission was formed against us. The reason was that all the processions taken out for us had a large number of PPP supporters who would raise slogans against Awami League and Martial Law. Mujeeb said

that the PPP was using us for its ends. It was then that the government threw feelers about us being Indian agents. When we taken into custody, the authorities said it was preventive detention as India wanted to have us killed. We were taken to Camelpur Jail and kfrom there to Shahi Qila, Lahore. There we were tortured very badly. The entire leadership including Maqbul Butt was arrested.

In mid 1972, Justice Yaqub Commission was formed which absolved us of all charges of being Indian agents. Yahya just wanted to put the blame of the East Pakistan crisis on us. If Bhutto government had not come, then we would have been hanged because Yahya government did not even allow us the right to appeal. In 1976, Bhutto gave statements against us in UN and Muzaffarabad for his political aims. That year, he offered Maqbul Butt Azad Kashmir government on the condition that he should join PPP. But ;Maqbul Butt turned down the offer saying that their aim was a free Kashmir and not government.

After our release we got together and restarted our movement. Maqbul Butt also went to India. Then he was arrested in 1976. He was hanged in 1984. When did Amanullah Khan of JKLF come on the scene? Where was he during the freedom movement? He was in the Mahaz-e-Rai Shumari (Plebiscite Front). Then he made a separate Liberation Front (JKLF), taking out the word 'National.' It seems strange that when he demands independent Kashmir, why should he not call it a National Liberation Front?

What was the stand of Maqbul Butt in JKNLF?

We were for the majority's decision. Personally Maqbul Butt was for independent Kashmir. The decision of the Kashmiri majority should be acceptable to everyone, be it Sardar Qayyum, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Amanullah Khan, Islamabad or New Delhi. If the majority wants that then Pakistan's earlier statements for and against would go to a large extent in determining their future relationship. We should support the majority because whatever be their decision one thing is certain that it would not be in favour of India. If that had been the case then the movement would never have started. We have cultural link with each other. If Kashmir is freed then India would fall apart. But if you are so fond of making Kashmir Pakistan then their processions should move towards India instead of Karachi.

There was an India diplomat in Britain who was allegedly murdered by JKLF. It is said that India hanged Maqbul Butt as a retaliation?.

You see if things are done without planning these reactions are abut obvious. But I cannot say if Amanullah Khan was involved in it or not. But the JKLF leadership is definitely responsible.

The line of control should be crossed and the UN has also allowed us. It is an artificial boundary that is widening gaps between people. The government should have stopped the procession earlier if it had wanted to stop the line from being crossed. The real hero of Kashmir movement is Maqbul Butt who gave his life for the cause.

(Ashraf Qureshi is now a Lecturer in Punjab University, Lahore)

Interview 2

HASHIM QURESHI'S INTERVIEW THE DAILY FOROGH-E-WATAN, JAMMU, MAY 26, 1992

"JKLF never demanded Pakistan"

We are publishing below a telephonic interview conducted with a senior leader of JKLF, Hashim Qureshi, by our correspondent. Released from Pakistani jail after nine years, he again raised his voice against Pakistan along with his colleagues and demanded that the Government of Pakistan vacate 'Azad Kashmir'. For this reason he was exiled and is living in Holland these days. (Excerpt)

Q: It is said that you were involved in the arrest/hanging of Maqbool Butt as propagated by Amanullah Khan?

A: How can Amanullah blame me? I am having letter written by him clearly indicating as to who was responsible for the killing of Mhatre and hanging of late Maqbool Butt.

Q: Can you produce these letters?

A: Why not? I will send you all these documents so that you and the Kashmiri people could know the factual position as to who was actually at fault.

Q: Would you like to comment on the present situation in Kashmir?

A: What shall I say? The situation is before you. It is all due to the politicians who deprived the youth of their fundamental rights which

forced them to arm themselves. Now the situation will return to normalcy only when the people of Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh get independence.

Q: Do you think that the activities of the extremists are correct?

A: Whatever they are doing is not correct. They have been committing kidnappings and murder of innocent people from the very beginning. I have always opposed such acts and will be always against it. You may remember that when Rubaiya Sayeed was kidnapped I was the first to condemn the incident and appealed to the kidnappers to release her. On the other hand whatever they do against the security forces is all right. While the people of Kashmir raise their voice against the atrocities of the security forces, the people of Jammu should also criticise the excesses of the security forces. The State of Jammu and Kashmir is not only the land of Kashmiris but equally the land of Dogras and Ladakhis. You would have observed recently that Hindu - Muslim brotherhood is alive in Kashmir which is evident from the fact that the men and women of Muslim community protested against the incident of Nai Sarak, Srinagar incident in which a girl and her mother belonging to the minority community were molested and then killed. The majority community demanded that the defaulters be produced before the public and punished. Accordingly, the people of Jammu should also protest against the excesses of security forces thinking that Kashmiris are their brothers and not enemies.

Q: Qureshi Saheb, security forces are only performing their duties.

A: I agree they are duty bound but some times atrocities are also being committed while performing the duties. What about the atrocities at Wular and Ali Kadal? Are these not excesses where innocent people were killed? Is it possible that a ten year old boy and an 80 year-old man can be extremists? You are a journalist and an inhabitant of the State. You should be aware of everything. There are many examples like this.

Q: Was it proper to force the Kashmiri Pandits to leave Kashmir?

A: Kashmiri Pandits are our brothers. Our culture, our civilization and our language is one and the same. We have been together for centuries. Is it possible that the flesh can be separated from the nail? Similarly Kashmiri Pandits cannot be separated from us. JKLF and other outfits have always appealed to them to return to their

homes and assured them of all protection. I myself have been away from home and thus know the miseries of the Kashmiri Pandits well. Liberation Front wants to establish such a Kashmir as existed prior to 1947 when Kashmiri Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs were living together like brothers. We want to present Kashmir as a garden of flowers to the world. These people were frightened/terrorised by some fundamentalists who want to give Kashmir to Pakistan. We demand a Kashmir as it existed prior to 1947 which included POK, Gilgit, Baltistan, Ladakh and J&K. All these areas should be liberated. Liberation Front neither wants Pakistan nor India. We want our own rights and an 'Azad Kashmir'. We will continue our armed struggle till Kashmir is freed from the occupation of Pakistan and India.

I appreciate Mahatma Gandhi, who was always impartial and talked of liberation of the whole world. I am critical of these followers of Bapu Ji who have allowed the security forces to commit atrocities in Kashmir and kill innocent people. Where have those principles of Bapu and Nehru gone? Indians have forgotten their principles. Why don't journalists use their pen against the atrocities of security forces when it is your duty to do so?

Q: Mr. Qureshi tell me something about the situation in POK. It is learnt that there is no progress and Pakistan Government has only looted it. There is not a university, no hospital and even the roads are in bad shape.

A: You are right in this regard. There is no progress in POK and Pakistan Government only has looted it. The forest wealth which is of crores of rupees, has been sent to foreign countries. In turn only poverty has been given to the people of POK. Their leaders claim themselves to be well-wishers of the people of POK. Yet only their relatives have benefited for the last 40 years. Government of Pakistan has deprived the people of POK of their basic rights. Even the royalty of Mangla Dam and other dams is not given to POK people by the Pak government though it is their right. Electricity is being generated from these dams but most of the people of Azad Kashmir are still deprived of electricity. The so-called rulers of POK do not raise any voice against this and want to conceal their sins and crimes. Instead of this they have raised the questions of liberation of Kashmir as a cover. But as a matter of fact they misled the Kashmiri people by raising the issue of freedom. If they claim themselves to be the well-wishers of the people of Kashmir, why have they deprived their own people of their basic rights? If they really want to become

the well-wishers of the people of POK, they should leave their chairs and work for the betterment of people.

Q: It is heard that Pakistan has stopped its arms supply to the Liberation Front. The same is now supplied to the Hizbul Mujahideen and to other pro-Pak parties.

A: When was Pakistan ever supplying us arms? We have been purchasing these through our own resources and will continue to do the same. Pakistan was only helping us a little bit. It is good that it has stopped this also. It is all in the best interests of the Kashmiri people. In this way, Kashmiris will feel how much Pakistan is sincere to them. The benefit from the stoppage of arms by Pakistan would be that the people of Kashmir would try to stand on their own feet and will intensify their struggle further. It would have been much better if Pakistan had stopped aid much earlier. We never acted on the instructions of Pakistan and even if we used to listen to them we used to act as per our own choice. We were against the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan from the very beginning so they stopped this aid to us. We have clarified to Pakistan that we want an independent Kashmir like it was prior to 1947.

Q: What will be final solution to the problem?

A: So far as I am concerned, I have always tried to seek its solution through negotiations.

Q: What about the views of the Liberation Front?

A: India, Pakistan and Kashmir will have to come together for negotiations to resolve the dispute peacefully taking into consideration the aspirations of the Kashmiri people. You might have read my interview with the Hindustan Times wherein I had proposed an election formula for Kashmir. When the elections are held in POK or Indian held Kashmir, the leaders of these states describe themselves the well-wishers of Pakistan or India. They should basically think of themselves as the well-wishers of their own people. How can these leaders who describe themselves as the well-wishers of Pakistan or India be well wishers of the people? For the negotiations only sincere leaders should be included.

India has been saying to the world that only a few people of Kashmir want independence. But I want to clarify to you as well as the Indian Government that not only are the people of Kashmir asking for

freedom/independent Kashmir (as it was prior to 1947) but the people of Jammu and Ladakh also demand the same. There should be religious freedom to all the people of J&K.

I am sitting in Holland. There is a temple, mosque, church and gurudwara. Nobody interferes with each other's faith. I want the same situation/atmosphere in Kashmir where people can pray to God freely as it was done before 1947. Neither India nor Pakistan talks about it and both are silent. Nobody is born as a terrorist. The atrocities of the Government and the deprivations forces him to become one. Nobody wants to die after taking up arms., People who love their motherland and who want to breathe in an atmosphere of freedom take up arms even though they know that in the end there is death, but still they struggle for their freedom.

The solution to the issue is possible only when India, Pakistan and real elected representatives of Kashmir negotiate on one table with sincere efforts. If we work sincerely a solution will emerge. Provided India and Pakistan take the initiative, the solution will be there surely. People of Jammu and Ladakh should be included in the negotiations while the representatives of so-called Azad Kashmir should also be there so that nobody could talk or complain later on. The people of India and Pakistan should raise their demand for such negotiations. The huge amounts being spent by the two countries on their defence expenditures could be utilized for the progress of their people.

Hashim Qureshi said that he had an old newspaper clipping in which he stated Bapuji had said that the people of Kashmir should be given their rights. If these were the views of Bapu then why the leaders of India hesitate to give the Kashmiris their rights?

Interview 3

HASHIM QURESHI INTERVIEWED BY INDRANIL BANERJIE OF THE SUNDAY WEEKEND, NEW DELHI, MARCH - APRIL 1992

"Give Kashmir to Kashmiris"

"Qureshi's story is in many ways more fascinating than that of Amanullah Khan, who has been JKLF chairman for the past 13 years. When Maqbool Butt and Hashim Qureshi founded the JKLF, Amanullah Khan was nowhere on the scene. , the organisation was called the Jammu & Kashmir National Liberation Front — the 'national' part w Originally as dropped by Amanullah. Butt and Qureshi operated from Pakistani Occupied Kashmir (POK) making regular forays into India to raise a cadre and propagate the idea of an independent, sovereign Kashmir. In 1971, Qureshi masterminded the hijacking of an Indian airlines Boeing and was locked up in Pakistani jails for nine years before being acquitted. In the meantime, Butt had been arrested during one of his clandestine missions and Amanullah Khan, the propagandist returned from England, had taken over as JKLF chief. Qureshi, even after his release, found himself constantly on the wrong side of the Pakistani law. He was arrested as many as ten times and finally had to flee the country. Reason: he refused to budge from his central position that Kashmir belonged to neither Pakistan nor India. Qureshi now wants to return to POK and this could mark the beginning of a new chapter in the Kashmiri struggle for independence. Form, Qureshi is a father figure in the Kashmir movement today. In his first ever interview to an Indian, Qureshi spoke about his views, his past, and how he had to flee Pakistan because he refused to

cooperate with the Pakistani Inter Services Intelligence (ISI). For reasons of security, how this interview was conducted has to be kept secret.

EXCERPTS

Sunday: Is it true that the JKLF is directly aided by the Pakistani military and the ISI in particular?

Qureshi: The JKLF at present has no military links with the Pakistani government. We are getting no help from them because Pakistani officials think we are dangerous. It is an open secret, however, that Pakistan is giving military aid to other groups operating in Kashmir. Former Pakistani Army chief Mirza Aslam Beg, in an interview to Cable News Network (CNN), had openly talked about how Kashmiri militants were being trained by some Afghan groups.

Q: Where does the JKLF get financial support from?

A: We get a lot of support from Kashmiris settled in England, Saudi Arabia and the USA. Of course, these people also support other groups like Jamaat-e-Islami. Then we make collections in POK and Indian-held Kashmir.

Q: What about the money that is alleged to have been raised by the POK Government to further the aims of the Kashmir struggle?

A: The POK leaders like Sardar Abdul Qayyum have made the freedom struggle a business. They do not want to make Kashmir a free land and they don't want Indian-held Kashmir to join Pakistan. These leaders do not represent the whole of Kashmir. They are tribal leaders, they are not politicians. Sardar Qayyum cannot even get votes in Mirpur. These people use the situation in Kashmir for their own purposes. In 1969, Sardar Qayyum said he was raising a force of 10,000 commandos for the Liberation of Kashmir and he collected huge amounts of money from Saudi Arabia. Nobody knows what happened to that money. Nobody in POK dares to ask them these questions.

Q: What do you feel about the call given by Amanullah Khan for a march to the Line of Actual Control (LAC) on 30 March this year?

A: Two years ago, when Amanullah met me in Amsterdam, I told him that people must come to POK and tell the world that it was time for

them to fight for independence. The world has to be told that this was not a communal struggle. But Amanullah said that I wanted to create trouble. He did not agree because at that time the ISI was helping him. The 11 February march this year was a good movement. A lot of people joined it and it raised a lot of hope amongst the people in Indian-held Kashmir. Now Amanullah is going in the right direction. The 11 February march also exposed the Pakistani officials, who opposed it.

Q: But what about the killing and kidnapping of innocents being carried out by your organisation?

A: I condemn these things. I was the only politician who condemned the kidnapping of Rubaiyya Sayeed. I wrote an article against it.

Q: What kind of political solution is possible in Kashmir?

A: The gun battle should end. Armed struggle is subservient to a political movement. But in Kashmir it is the other way round at present. Another problem is that the political platform that launched the armed struggle in POK, and they do not want to see the leadership emerging from the people who are directly involved in the struggle. The whole struggle is in the control of leaders sitting in POK and that must change. I too have plans.

Q: How exactly do you think the situation could be altered in favour of the ordinary Kashmiris?

A: I was a founder of the JKLF and I have worked for many years in POK where 70 per cent of the people want independence. In Indian-held Kashmir too people realise there is no future with Pakistan. But there are the fanatics, the fundamentalists of course who want to be with Pakistan. I think the whole problem can be solved if the Indian Government tells the Kashmiris that okay we are ready to give you independence, may be in stages and let us sit and discuss the matter across the table. This will help. India will not have to give Kashmir to Pakistan, nor will the Pakistani people have to give POK to India. But they can both give Kashmir to the Kashmiris. This will solve the major problem in the subcontinent and all the money being spent by the two countries on defence can be used for the benefit of the poor people in India and Pakistan.

Q: So where do you go from here?

A: The Indian Government officials must realise that if they agree to give Kashmir independence, it is Pakistan that will oppose the move. The Pakistani officials will be exposed, then the people who are fighting the Indian Army today will turn against the Pakistani officials and their security forces.

Interview 4

HASHIM QURESHI INTERVIEWED BY ARABINDA GHOSH, THE HINDUSTAN TIMES NEW DELHI, APRIL 21, 1992

JKLF leader has novel suggestion

Mr. Hashim Qureshi, one of the founders of the so-called Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) along with Amanullah Khan and the late Maqbool Butt, has welcomed the beginning of the political process in Jammu and Kashmir and the release of some of the detained leaders.

"It is a good beginning", he told this correspondent in a telephonic interview from Amsterdam, Holland, late last evening, and added that discussions must be held which would result in some positive results."

"After all," he said, " we have to sit across the table one day", and when good people from all parties concerned sat down to resolve the issue, which was eating into the vitals of the people of the sub-continent like a cancer, a solution would certainly emerge.

Mr. Qureshi, who has been living abroad for more than 20 years, is considered one of the liberals in the JKLF and is not known to be a religious fundamentalist. "I am not a fundamentalist and I do not swear by religion", he said. After all, religions taught love for humanity and not hatred. The issue in Kashmir, he said, was not one of religions, but of 'Kashmiriyat'. I condemn both the fundamentalists and the Indian Army for whatever has happened in the Kashmir Valley."

Mr. Qureshi said that he deeply regretted the mass evacuation of Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley. "Whether it was Jagmohan (former Governor) or the fundamentalism who are responsible for this, I condemn both. Please tell the Kashmiri Pandits to return to the valley. Please tell them Kashmir is their *watan* (homeland) and they are like our brothers. Let them return to the Valley and fight against the oppressors who have no religion."

He, however, was unsparing in his criticism of the role of the Indian Army in Kashmir and said the respect India enjoyed in the international arena had been eroded greatly on account of the doings of the Army in Kashmir. "I know that India is under pressure from the US, the European Community and even from Britain where the issue figured in Parliament too," Mr. Qureshi asserted. Nevertheless, he said the Pakistan Army too behaved in a similar manner and referred to the incident recently in which 10 JKLF members (who were seeking to cross into the India side of the line of actual control in Kashmir) were killed. "The Armies are the same everywhere", he said.

Asked if he had any solution in mind for the Kashmir problem, Mr. Qureshi suggested a novel procedure for choosing of representatives from both sides of the line of actual control and other regions of the original Kashmir State like Ladakh and Jammu in India and Gilgit and Baltistan in Pakistan. (Incidentally, he said, both Gilgit and Baltistan belonged to 'Kashmir' and were not part of Pakistan)

The suggestion was this: Let elections be held in all parts of the original Kashmir State. But those taking part in elections in the Indian side should not be asked to take an oath saying that Kashmir is an integral part of India (Actually, the oath is allegiance to the Constitution, to be taken at the time of filling of nomination papers). Let the candidates on the Pakistani side be treated similarly (Mr. Qureshi more than once described that part as PoK (Pak-occupied Kashmir). Let these selected people from all the regions sit together, he said, and hammer out a solution. After all, how long should this cancer be allowed to fester in the subcontinent, he asked, which resulted in death and suffering of men, women and children and affected the economic development of all the peoples in the subcontinent..

Interview 5

HASHIM QURESHI INTERVIEWED BY THE DAILY EXCELSIOR, JAMMU JUNE 1, 1992

Azaadi Movement hijacked by ISI

"Three years of gun-wielding by the Kashmiri militants have brought them no achievement. On international level, their movement has not been able to register any support. Today, more than one hundred groups of militant organizations have surfaced in the valley, some of them engaged in gun-battles with one another killing their compatriots. Inter Service intelligence of Pakistan or Pakistani rulers, who masterminded tremendous bloodshed in Kashmir, have managed stifling of the voice of Kashmiris for their self-determination, allowing them only two options of either India or Pakistan. They have totally distorted the entire movement. The ISI and Pakistani rulers will not give up the battle for their interests. As such they do not desire our freedom. Three years ago when armed struggle was launched in Kashmir, I wrote in my articles and continue writing to this day that the movement was going along the wrong path. I had warned at that time of the disastrous consequences awaiting it. It is clear that the militants who are killing peoples as a result of their in-fighting and are perpetrating atrocities (like those by the security men) will lose the support of common people. I had warned them that if they did such deeds, masses would come out on the streets and ask what kind of 'azaadi' was this. Ours is a national liberation movement and not a religious battle. National liberation movement is not carried in the manner we find in the valley. Fragmenting the community, indulging in ideological clashes, stifling the critical voice of the press and intimidating media persons is not the way of national

liberation movements. Kashmiri people must do a rethinking that solution of the problem will not come through the barrel of the gun but by sitting around the table and sorting out the matters."

Speaking to this correspondent in a telephonic interview, Mr. Hashim Qureshi, the Amsterdam-based JKLF ideologue and the close associate of late Maqbool Butt said,

"It was for the people of Kashmir to examine whether the Jamaat-e-Islami contributed anything positive towards the interests of the people or brought them only misery. The role of the Jamaat is there before the people of Kashmir. If the people of Pakistan were convinced that the Jamaat-e-Islami was a party beneficial to their interests, then the party would not have got only four seats in a population of 12 crores in the Pakistan National Assembly."

The biggest weakness of the liberation organizations in the valley was isolating the minorities, Hindus, Buddhists etc. of Kashmir from the struggle. They should have been involved in the 'freedom struggle'. I am urging their participation even now. I believe that even the people of Jammu, Dogras and others, who feel injustice has been done to them, should join the political struggle. I do not want them to take up the arms. This is not the age of gun but of making sacrifices. If the people of Jammu came out on the streets for their freedom, then the people in POK would forthwith reciprocate in massive numbers to carry on the struggle.

Mr. Qureshi listed many deprivations of the people in J&K. He said that in Pakistan occupied Kashmir (he did not use the words Azad Kashmir) there was no hospital worth the name, no university and no technical institute. POK citizens overseas remitted crores of dollars in foreign exchange but they got no benefit out of it. Mangla dam was constructed on POK land. Electricity generated from it was supplied to Lahore, Rawalpindi and other cities but POK was denied the benefit and royalty. Kashmiris have been oppressed both by Pakistan and by India.

The question whether Kashmiri women should be forced to use the veil or not, should be left to the womenfolk themselves without thrusting an opinion on them. It has to be seen whether women working in the fields, collecting fuel from forests, women selling fish and doing scores of other chores of life will find themselves in a difficult position to undertake these economic activities with a veil on. How can you wrap them up in a veil and ask them to work. They will decide it for themselves.

It is against nature to think that only Muslims should live in Kashmir. All creatures are equal before Allah and Bhagwan. We are on the threshold of 21st century. This is not the age of crusades.

Religion cannot influence major issues of humanity in this age. On the basis of religion, millions have been killed in the past, yet no religion has been wiped out from the surface of the earth. Today all human beings have to be equal partners. The rays of the sun provide benefit to one and all. Allah has not reserved the light and the warmth of sunrise for the crops cultivated by the Muslims alone. Nobody is deprived of its benefit. Creation of Bangladesh showed that it was not a religious struggle.

Kashmiri Pandits are our brothers. We have been living together for centuries. Kashmiri Pandits, Sikhs, Dogras, Buddhists, Muslims and others are all sons of Kashmir who is our mother. A mother does not send away any of her children if they are weak or infirm in some respect. Religion is made by human beings. To create a division among the sons of a mother is a deep conspiracy. For last five years, I have been repeatedly saying that no movement should be carried out on the basis of religion. I gave an interview to the correspondents of *Forogh-e-Watan* and *The Hindustan Times* in which I addressed the Kashmiri militants that their struggle can be effective on international plane only if they carried the Kashmiri Pandits along with them, I condemned the rape of Rosy and her mother and subsequent killing both and their father just as I condemned the killing of Raj Begum of Batmaloo and her two months old infant by the security forces. I raised my voice why Dr. Dhar was kidnapped while he was in Kashmir serving the people. Thousands of Muslim women and men came out on the streets of Srinagar to protest against the rape and murder of Rosy family.

If the gun-wielding youth in the valley were indulging in the same atrocities as did the security men, then who from among the people was going to lend them any support.

The Shimla Agreement was between the "two wolves how to eat up the goat". Kashmiri people were not a party to it. Granted that Pakistan did not take the initiative of withdrawing her troops from POK in accordance with the resolution of the UN Commission on India and Pakistan, let India declare that she is prepared to talk about Kashmir's independence and throw the ball in the court of Pakistan. This will corner Pakistan and the people of Kashmir will come to know who is sincere to their cause and who is not. The 'offer' should come from India who has to

give a proof of great courage and large heartedness to solve the question, to operate the festering wound of Kashmir.

What is called Northern Areas of Pakistan should be actually called Northern Areas of undivided India. It was the position in 1947, and later on Pakistan occupied it through force of arms. I have read the agreement concluded between Pakistan and China about the handing over of a chunk of Kashmir territory to China. The agreement has a clause saying that final settlement would be made after the Kashmir issue had been solved. Once India announces that she is going to talk about the freedom of Kashmir, then political leadership will come forth to sit down for a dialogue. But if you want the Kashmiris to take part in elections after taking an oath of allegiance to India or Pakistan as per their constitution, nobody is going to come forward for talks.

There is a way of solving Kashmir tangle. India should make an announcement that she is prepared for talks on freedom after elections are held to enable elected representatives to hold talks on behalf of the people. The same process would be underway in POK including Gilgit and Baltistan. Then the elected representatives would hold a dialogue with the two governments, Indian and Pakistani and come to a final agreement regarding the solution of the tangle. He said that all Kashmiris could not be misled by propaganda. People in large numbers were expressing their resentment against India in different ways, gun fires, hartals, protest rallies. India and Pakistan, both are poor countries. Why should they waste their resources on weapons. People in POK were also resentful of their government.

The movement in Kashmir was hijacked and put on a different direction which suited the enemies of Kashmir. It was now a too late to associate these people with the movement, nevertheless, I have been advocating for it. Not that they should take up guns but join political process and struggle will continue.

In regard to alternatives, there could be other options. People on both sides of the cease-fire line in Kashmir could be united and a confederation could be created in the sub-continent. He said that this confederation's purview could be widened to take into its fold many contiguous countries. India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan and even Afghanistan. In Kashmir, the struggle was for Kashmiriyat or Kashmir's ethnic identity. India gave Kashmir democratic system but it interfered in its matters. It thrust its own lackey on the people, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was their lackey. There were others and Kashmir's identity was sought to be eroded. They did not allow it to grow and suppressed it as did Pakistan.

In our concept, azaadi means a political process according to the wishes of the people. If elections are rigged, it is not political process.

People should have opportunity to speak and have a say in things. This is what India denied the Kashmiris. Delhi-made governments were imposed. In 1987 elections, the MUF would have won more seats but manipulations were made. The present anger is the cumulative result of these oppressive policies. Both India and Pakistan want to eat up Kashmir, and Kashmiris want to assert. Now India says that we want to talk to Pakistan. I agree that the treatment meted out to Indian diplomat in Islamabad is unbecoming of a host country, but if India is sincere, she should not have cancelled the forthcoming meeting of foreign secretaries. After all, India should give a proof of her sincerity at some stage in some way.

I have been telling Kashmiri people and militants that the gun yielded no results at all. I have never stained my hands with anybody's blood and I am against all kidnapping, killings, rapes, arson and infighting. This is not the age of getting things sorted out through gun. Instead, the militants should come to a table and talk. I was reading the latest issue of *Chattan* published from Srinagar. It said: "that Afghans with 2 crore population had about 12 militant organizations and although freedom had been achieved yet they continued to fight among themselves, What will happen to Kashmir militant organizations numbering more than 100 in a population of just 34 lakhs." They are fighting and killing one another. They have lost the direction. Kashmiris who harboured the militancy must have realised that our problem cannot be solved by the gun. I have reports that Sayyid Ali Shah Geelani has also said that instead of depending on gun, talks should be held to initiate a political process. If the Kashmiri militants do not accept what we suggest and continue their armed activities, how long can they go with it.

I do not want blood to be shed any more nor do I want Kashmiri people to break up. I appeal to all the Indian politicians for stopping the destruction of India in Kashmir. We do not at all want fragmentation of India. We want justice and we should not indulge in atrocities. It is an old axiom that if you want justice your hands should be clean. Kashmiris have to show that their hands are clean.

I do want to come back to my native place and be with my family and my people. I want the bloodshed to be stopped. I know that it is the poor who are hit the hardest. We are fed up with life in exile. We are against tyranny and oppression whosoever does it. I had to spend more than Ten

years in jail. Today everybody with a gun in Kashmir valley has become a leader.

They are exploiting religion and the liberation struggle for their cheap and vested interests. If I tell them to give up the gun, they feel it an attack on their interests. They would as well gun men down because it is an exercise in self destruction. One who has the gun in the valley today has obtained the certificate of leadership. The militants are now doing the same thing which the Indian security forces are doing. When a journalist criticises their bad deeds, he is killed. Is this the struggle for 'azaadi'?

Gandhi burnt his blood and made sacrifices for India's freedom. I also want the journalists to reproduce faithfully what I have said. Kashmiri militants should be told that they should not narrow down the parameters of their struggle by brandishing the gun. Rather they should take the world situation into view, and react by entering into a dialogue with the Government. They should be given the message that all freedom loving people are prepared to show solidarity with them against oppression as they are being presently oppressed on both sides.

My book on Kashmir crisis would be out from the press by the middle of June 1992. In this work I have made an attempt to expose the fake leadership of Kashmir, India and Pakistan, and how they were keeping the Kashmir pot boiling."

Interview 6

INTERVIEW GIVEN BY HASHIM QURESHI TO GOMANTAK TIMES, GOA, 15 NOVEMBER 1992

In a conversation with this correspondent, on his first ever visit to the US, Hashim Qureshi, co-founder of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), who now resides in exile at Amsterdam, dealt at length with the situation in Kashmir, and offered what he called a realistic solution to the problem on which India and Pakistan have had to go to war and which has become a major preoccupation for successive Indian governments.

Qureshi said that more than three years ago, when armed struggle was launched in Jammu and Kashmir, he had repeatedly warned that the movement was getting on the wrong track and that it was in for disastrous consequences. He was the first Kashmiri politician to condemn the kidnapping of Rubaiya Saeed (daughter of the Home Minister in the V.P. Singh cabinet).

Three years of gun-wielding by the Kashmiri militants have brought them no rewards. On the international level, their movement has no support. Today, some of the militant organizations engaged in violent activities in Kashmir are killing their own compatriots.

Conceding that the JKLF was divided on differences on tactics between him and Amanullah Khan, and also that there were divisions among various overseas groups of the Front, Qureshi claimed that the organisation enjoyed wide support in the valley and in POK. According to

him, the traditionally peaceful people in Kashmir were tired of the use of force by both the militants and the security forces.

To a question by the correspondent of a local ethnic daily on why the JKLF insisted on independence despite the various protections given to the Kashmiri people by the Indian Constitution, Qureshi was quoted as saying that the rigging of elections and the cavalier attitude with which the state was governed had alienated the masses. The Kashmiri leader told this correspondent that during his visit he had meetings with members of the Kashmiri community including some Pandits (Hindus). He said that he considered the latter as his brothers, and that it was imperative for all Kashmiris irrespective of their religious difference, to unite "to achieve our objective of independence for our motherland." Asked about the response from those he met, Qureshi said that while they were not overwhelmingly supportive of his point of view, many of them were receptive to the suggestion that a peaceful solution to the Kashmir problem had to be found on the basis of a farewell to violent activities and a dialogue among India, Pakistan and the Kashmiri people. He added that he did notice some opposition from the Pakistanis he met, to his call for independence, as they assumed that if a plebiscite was held, the Kashmiris would opt to join Islamic Pakistan. He however, disputed this assumption by saying that the creation of Bangladesh had shown that religion was not an issue during the struggle of its people against Pakistan. In the context of UN Resolutions, Qureshi said that the people of Kashmir did not attach any importance to those resolutions as they were not a party to negotiations at the world body when they were adopted. **"We were like a lamb being pounced upon by the two wolves"**, Qureshi said.

Asked what he thought of the proposed march of 24 October by the JKLF in the POK, Qureshi said that he opposed it strongly as it was only a gimmick. He said that he personally condemned any line "dividing my country". At the same time he opposed any move that aggravated tensions between India and Pakistan, and which had the potential of starting another war between them but did not contribute in any way to the solution of the problem. According to Qureshi the Kashmir problem could be solved only through a mandate from its people.

He said that as a start, India should announce that she was willing to consider the demand for independence after elections were held in J&K to enable the elected representatives to hold talks on behalf of the people. The same process should be carried out in POK including Gilgit and Baltistan. The elected representatives would then hold talks with the governments of

India and Pakistan and come to a final agreement on the solution of the tangle.

Sounds simplistic? Not so, says the Kashmiri leader. It was time, he said, "that India and Pakistan heeded the writing on the wall and the status quo would no longer work especially in the context of rapid global developments. Through such an election, which should be held under the auspices of the UN, the people would be able to elect representatives who would act as negotiators in tripartite talks with Pakistan and India," Qureshi said, arguing that **only elected members from both sides of the border will have the legitimacy and the sanction to speak on behalf of the Kashmiri people.** He says that this plan is workable because international opinion would view it sympathetically and pressure from the US, UN and the OIC would compel both India and Pakistan to allow fair elections in undivided Kashmir.

The path of violence and the cult of AK-47, in contrast, would lead to a dead end. "I ask my Kashmiri brothers, what has armed struggle in the Valley achieved?" recounts Qureshi. "It has only brought misery and death to our people. When I argued against armed struggle four years ago, most of my colleagues and many Kashmiris would criticise me, he admits. Today, they are beginning to see the logic of my arguments."

The path of armed struggle was deliberately foisted on Kashmiris by the Pakistani establishment and the notorious ISI in particular. The Pakistanis, however, do not want an independent Kashmir; on the contrary they want to swallow it. This is one reason why Pakistan has not allowed an independent leadership to develop in Kashmir. The Pakistani mind set on Kashmir has not changed, according to Qureshi. In a widely quoted interview in Saudi Arabia a couple of months ago, Qureshi drew attention to Benazir Bhutto's recent statement that a free Kashmir is not viable because, "it will become a centre of intrigues and conspiracies", involving Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, China and Central Asia. Branding such claims as pernicious, Qureshi says that Kashmiris are perfectly capable of living in peace with their neighbours and managing their own affairs. "These statements just show that politicians in India and Pakistan are only interested in using the issue of Kashmir for their own political whims and propaganda. Nobody is prepared to let the Kashmiris decide for themselves", he charged.

Qureshi believes that free elections in Kashmir would put an end to these manipulations. His plan would form the kernel of a genuine and new initiative on the future of Kashmir.

Interview 7

HASHIM QURESHI TALKS TO INDRANIL BANERJIE, SUNDAY NEWSWEEK NEW DELHI, 14 - 20 FEBRUARY 1993

Ballot, not bullet

The rattle of AK-47s might not continue to dominate Kashmiri politics for long. In the last few months, a section of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) and some prominent Kashmiri groups abroad have begun demanding an end to armed struggle in the Valley. Though they haven't given up the dream of an independent Kashmir, these outfits now say that the only way to achieve the goal is through tripartite negotiations involving elected representatives from Kashmir, Pakistan and India.

At the forefront of this new initiative is the 39- year old Kashmiri exiled Hashim Qureshi, one of the co-founders of the JKLF. Qureshi had hijacked an Indian Airlines Fokker in 1971 and had served a ten-year prison sentence in Pakistan. Since 1986, he has been living in Amsterdam from where he has been orchestrating a propaganda campaign for Kashmir's independence.

But for the last couple of years, Qureshi has been singing a different tune. In all his writings, interviews and public meetings, the JKLF leader has been arguing that liberation cannot be achieved through armed struggle. And during a recent tour of the Middle East, Qureshi had found many takers for his line of thinking. Qureshi and other Kashmiri exiles are now going to petition the new American President Bill Clinton.

the United Nations (UN) secretary general Boutros Boutros Ghali and the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) to organise polls in all the parts of Kashmir.

In a conversation with *SUNDAY*, Qureshi held that "the world in this century can no longer accept armed struggle as a means of achieving political determination." He believes that Kashmiris must change their strategy at this stage. "Violence is mindless and as the Kashmir experience has shown, it only leads to further violence, atrocities and brutalising."

Qureshi added. His demand is that free and fair elections should be held in undivided Kashmir. Through such an election, which should be held under the auspices of the UN, the people would be able to elect representatives who would act as negotiators in tripartite talks with Pakistan and India," Qureshi said, arguing that only elected members from both sides of the border will have the legitimacy and the sanction to speak on behalf of the Kashmiri people. He says that this plan is workable because international opinion would view it sympathetically and pressure from the US, UN and the OIC would compel both India and Pakistan to allow fair elections in undivided Kashmir.

Interview 8

HASHIM QURESHI INTERVIEWED BY CHITRA SUBRAMANIAM IN GENEVA INDIAN EXPRESS, NEW DELHI, MARCH 3, 1993

India walked into Pak trap

The co-founder of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front has said Pakistan has a clear and precise plan to foment trouble in Kashmir and that India has walked into the trap set by that country's Inter Services Intelligence (ISI).

"The idea was to provoke India to such a point that the situation gets out of hand — in that Pakistan has succeeded," Hashim Qureshi told this correspondent in an exclusive interview. The exiled leader, living in Amsterdam, said India could -and should- expose Pakistan's designs on Kashmir. "If New Delhi announces that it is willing to sit down to discuss all aspects of the Kashmir issue, Pakistan will stand exposed in the international arena," he said. "By all aspects", he said he meant not only the issue of Kashmiri independence, but also that of Jammu, Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, Gilgit - Baltistan and Ladakh.

Ultras will sweep polls: Qureshi said were elections to be held in Kashmir today, Muslim fundamentalists would carry the day. "Pakistan has succeeded in driving a wedge between the people of Kashmir and India, and they have used their brand of Islam to do this," he said. Qureshi, who is very critical of the Indian security forces, and it was India's actions in recent years that had driven the people of Kashmir towards fundamentalism.

"The fundamentalists fire one shot, and the Indian security forces go on rampage, destroying entire villages. By doing this, India behaved just like Pakistan wanted to,"

he asserted. He said if New Delhi wanted to regain the confidence of moderate Kashmiris, perpetrators of Sopore - like incidents will have to be brought to book. "Unless people are punished, the average Kashmiri will continue to think that New Delhi is behind the carnage."

Qureshi, who shot to fame after the hijacked an Indian Airlines plane in 1971, now swears by Mahatma Gandhi. "One didn't expect anything from Pakistan, given their track record, but one had a lot of hope in India, the country that gave the world Mahatma Gandhi," he said.

Moderate among militants: He is known as a moderate among Kashmiri leaders. He asserted that he was very much a part of the JKLF despite the attempts of fundamentalists and the president of the outfit, Amanullah Khan to keep him out. "I was one of the founders and I am still in the JKLF. My being there is the greatest threat to Amanullah Khan and the ISI," He claims massive support in Kashmir as well as in the diaspora. People are just beginning to see that they are being used, but they are also afraid of India, he said. Commenting on Pakistan's campaign against India at various international fora especially at the HRC in Geneva, Qureshi said these were all attempts to embarrass India since Pakistan has no concern for human rights. "Look at what they have been doing in their own country for the past 45-years," Qureshi said. As for Islamabad's other "concern"- the plight of the Muslims in the world and especially in India, Qureshi said, "This is rubbish. Why isn't Pakistan doing anything about Bosnia or the 400 Muslims deported from Israel, or the Kurds in Turkey - whom are they trying to fool?" Equally hypocritical was Pakistan's aim that it was serving the cause of Islam internationally, he said. Qureshi came down heavily on what he called "ISI brand of Islam" which was being used to goad fundamentalist elements in Kashmir. They are closing cinema houses in Kashmir, they want women to wear the burqa- but what about women in PoK or Lahore or Multan? Kashmiris should know that Pakistan is defending neither Muslims nor Islam nor human rights. "If there is peace in Kashmir, Pakistan's political class and generals will be out of business. That is what Pakistan is defending," he said.

Interview 9

HASHIM QURESHI INTERVIEWED BY SUBHASH KIRPEKAR OF THE TIMES OF INDIA, NEW DELHI, OCTOBER 26 - 28, 1993

Amsterdam, October 25. Mr. Hashim Qureshi has severely criticised the violations of human rights by Indian security forces in what he calls **"Indian occupied Kashmir"** and says that **pushing the Kashmiris to the wall by using rape, torture, custodial deaths as weapons to suppress the will of the people would not succeed.**

In his first face-to-face interview with an Indian journalist after he hijacked Ganga, the Indian Airlines Fokker Friendship from Srinagar to Lahore 22 years ago, the 40-year old Mr. Qureshi said that the only policy India had in regard to Kashmir was to kill people and bludgeon them into submission.

"You have put up statues of Mahatma Gandhi everywhere, but India does not follow this path of non-violence and brotherhood. That is India's tragedy and that is why it is losing respect in the eyes of the world, said the pacifist.

He vehemently disagrees that the holding of eight elections in Jammu and Kashmir had once and for all settled the issue of accession of Kashmir to India. **" Those elections were only for choosing the local government. In those elections, there was no option given to the people as to whether they wished to live with India or with Pakistan or be independent",** Mr. Qureshi said. Had that option been given, he continued, then India could have claimed rightfully that Kashmir was an integral part of India. But this was not the situation now. The people of Kashmir wanted azadi and khud mukhtiari. The basic

question of self-determination remained unresolved because that choice was not offered to the Kashmiri people, he said.

Siege condemned: Condemning the siege of Hazratbal shrine in Srinagar, he said that attacking the Golden Temple complex in Amritsar in 1984 had only embittered the Sikhs. That was a wrong decision. Then there was the demolition of the Babri Masjid in December 1992. And now yet another shrine had come into focus. This too would be a wrong decision if the Indian army was to mount an assault on the shrine. "It is clear that militants inside the shrine are provoking an attack like Bhindranwale did in the Akal Takht, but why get into the trap and do what the militants want you to do? Your government can say that the militants have defiled the shrine but we will not do it and therefore we lift the siege. That will go down well with the people of Kashmir. Otherwise, the people of Kashmir will remember only the attacker, not the attacked. Political issue cannot be decided by administrative measures. There are no two opinions that Indian forces should not attack the shrine. No shrine should be attacked. I oppose it," he said.

Third Party: Mr. Qureshi strongly refuted the contention of the Union Home Minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, that Kashmir cannot be a third party in Indo-Pak bilateral talks to resolve the Kashmir dispute. India and Pakistan talked in Tashkent and at Shimla and the problem of Kashmir lay unresolved, he pointed out. India had taken the Kashmir issue to the UNO in 1947 - 48 and nothing had resulted from that either. "**We are not a third party. We are the first party,**" he asserted. By talking of just two parties and India wanting Kashmir representatives to talk through them indicated a process of thinking wherein some "give and take" could take place and Kashmir could be further divided. How could the Kashmiris accept this and how would it solve the problem? He asked. "**Then there will be no peace there as there can be no solution without the participation of the people of Kashmir,**" he stated.

Pak also blamed: Mr. Qureshi was equally critical of Pakistan, the PoK Government and the ISI of Pakistan for exploiting the Kashmir dispute to suit their own various interests. "It is we Kashmiris who are facing the bullets in this struggle and it is Pakistan and PoK who are hijacking our struggle and playing their politics on our blood and our corpses", Mr. Qureshi pointed out. Conceding that human rights violations were taking place in PoK, Gilgit and Baltistan, he said "that because of the large scale violations in the Valley, these authentically paled into insignificance and the world did not take much notice of them". In PoK, for instance, no one could contest elections without first filing an affidavit that he favoured accession to Pakistan. None could get a job there

without fulfilling this pre-condition. Amnesty International and Asia Watch had reported extensively on violations in Kashmir, he said, referring to incidents of rape and how people were pulled out of their houses and shot dead. Therefore, to be able to complain about violations of human rights in PoK, India would have to improve its own record first and do justice to the sufferers.

"I don't think that Pakistan is a friend of Kashmiri people. It is serving its own interests. I salute them for playing intelligently on the movement of the Kashmiri people. India, on the other hand has walked into traps in Sopore, Khanyar and other places and now it has walked into a trap around the Hazratbal shrine," Mr. Qureshi pointed out.

Hindu Rights: In reply to a question on how he saw the future of Kashmiri Pandits driven out of the Valley, he said that they had much a right to live in Kashmir as their Muslim brethren with whom they had lived in harmony for centuries and which harmony had led all to boast that Kashmir never witnessed communal riots before the crisis began in 1988.

"I believe in secularism. The Kashmiri Pandits are to enjoy their rights not on the basis of religion but because they are the sons of the soil. Whatever the faith of any Kashmiri, I am with them all. They are our brethren. There is no other solution but for KPs to return to their homes," Mr. Qureshi said.

Round Table: "If I could start from the peak of terrorism by hijacking an aircraft as a symbol of revolt against injustice, why cannot the leaders of India and Pakistan start with a peace summit. If I can change and work for peace, why not these politicians?" Are they worse than terrorists"

Posing these questions, Mr. Hashim Qureshi forcefully said: why not sit together before a war breaks out and discuss peace. **"If you want peace; ask for that peace before a war."** History is replete with examples of peace talks being held after losing thousands of lives. The US and Vietnam held peace talks in Paris and solved their problem. India and Pakistan sat together in Tashkent after entering into an armed conflict. The PLO and Israel had talked in Norway and entered into an agreement. Then why not India and Pakistan act similarly? he asked. Mr. Qureshi referred to the observation made by the PoK Prime Minister, Mr. Abdul Qayyum Khan at the Round Table on Kashmir in Brussels when he cautioned India not to enter into talks with militants and advised

holding talks with Kashmiri politicians. But the trouble with the Round Table was that none of those who mattered in Kashmir Valley were invited. There was no Shabir Shah, Yasin Malik, Gilani, Abdul Ghani Lone, Fazal-e-Haq Qureshi or the Mir Waiz Maulavi Omar Farooq, he pointed out.

Meaningful talks: "When I addressed the demonstrators outside the European Parliament building in Brussels just before the start of the Round Table, I said that something worthwhile could have emerged if representatives of the governments of India and Pakistan and the representatives from Kashmir were present. I don't understand how the problem of the Valley can be resolved without all representatives from it being present. That means what I have been saying for four years — that the PoK leadership only seeks to ride piggy back on our struggle and become our leaders as well — is substantiated., Mr. Qureshi observed. He also pointed out that while Gilgit - born Amanullah Khan had no love lost for Kashmiris in the Valley, the Mirpur-born Shabir Chaudhury (also of the JKLF) was invited by the Socialist Group as a representative of the Valley when in fact he was based in London for the last 23 years. Where was Dr. Karan Singh? he asked, stating that Mr. Bhim Singh alone did not represent Jammu just as Dr. Farooq Abdullah also did not represent the Valley.

Mr. Qureshi said he was not invited to the Round Table because of objection raised by India and Pakistan. "I hail from the Valley and I could have represented the viewpoint of the Valley. If the organisers were 'neutral', they should have asked me to respond to the objections and not decided on keeping out a genuine Kashmiri from the Valley. Pakistan objected because I do not accept their diktats or of the ISI and they feared I might speak out against Pakistan's occupation of Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan," he stated.

An eyewash: Mr. Qureshi asserted that nobody in the European Parliament or the USA could resolve the Kashmir problem. "Their talk of peace is only an eyewash and the solution has to come from us living in the subcontinent. We have seen 45 years wasted in hatred and destruction and development funds being diverted to arms and ammunition. We have to think of what we want to give our children — Kalashnikovs and drugs or computers and books," he said with emotion.

He assailed Pakistan for giving training in the use of arms to Kashmiri youths for just eight days in camps and then sending them to fight the 'regular army'. "Pakistan should first liberate PoK, Gilgit and

Baltistan if it wants to be loyal to Kashmiris in the Valley. It should also implement the high court order to merge Gilgit and Baltistan with PoK. Instead, it has appealed to the supreme court. How can I believe that Pakistan is loyal when self-determination is there in the 1974 interim Constitution of PoK and Pakistan is turning a blind eye to it?" He asked.

Mr. Qureshi also regretted that India had no constructive Kashmir policy to speak of. It did not take cognizance of ground realities and it did not ask the people if the gunmen in the Valley had their support. One minister in the home ministry talks of elections being held in six months while the other shoots it down

Gun culture: " We know Rajesh Pilot has also met militants. But do you want to impose the gun culture on Kashmir? Why not talk to Gilani, Lone, Shabir Shah, Yasin Malik and Azam Inquilabi and others? Is the message to go that there is no way without fighting and spilling blood? This is not the ISI. I had told Chitra Subramaniam also that

"the Indian security forces gave the impression of colluding with the ISI because they were doing what the ISI wants!" Mr. Qureshi said

Mr. Qureshi was all praise for the contribution of Sheikh Abdullah in demolishing feudalism in Kashmir and giving land to the tiller together with freedom of expression. The bid to dig up his grave was " un-Islamic " and a " conspiracy" from outside to denigrate a leader who had given so much to Kashmir. The killings of Maulavi Farooq and Mir Mustafa were with similar intent: denying the Kashmiri people the right of taking decisions that benefit the people of the Valley. **"Islam gives none the authority to dig a grave and the Qur'an says not to speak ill of the dead because that person goes before Allah,"** he explained.

Mhatre murder: Hashim Qureshi accused Mr. Amanullah Khan of being responsible for the kidnapping and murder of Mr. Ravindra Mhatre on February 3, 1984, which in turn led to the execution of Maqbool Butt in Tihar jail on February 11, 1984 as, what he called, an act of revenge. While opposing the arrest of Mr. Khan in Brussels on October 18 on the ground that it was improper to invite someone and then arrest him, Mr. Qureshi claimed he had proof of Mr. Khan's involvement in Mr. Mhatre's assassination in the UK. "I had warned Khan that if he murdered the Indian diplomat, Maqbool Butt would be hanged. But he did not listen to me. That is where my first differences with him began. "Mr. Qureshi told this reporter in an interview. Meanwhile two British

MPs, Mr. Barry Seal and Mr. Terry Rooney, both members of the European Parliament, have demanded that their government should lift the restriction on Mr. Qureshi's entry into Britain. A local newspaper here carried this report. Mr. Qureshi holds a Dutch passport and was banned from entering Britain after the Mhatre murder.)

Double Agent: "As a politician, I am opposed to his arrest in Brussels because India, Pakistan, Belgium and the European Parliament knew he was on the wanted list of Interpol and had not raised any objections to his being invited to the Round Table. I have a lot of differences with him. Let me say that I have no doubt that he is an ISI agent cloaked as a *qaumi azadi* (national freedom) leader. But after his arrest, I am convinced that he is serving Indian intelligence also," Mr. Qureshi observed. Blaming Mr. Khan for betraying the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), breaking it several times and for keeping around him 'fools' who were incapable of intelligent thinking, Mr. Qureshi said the so-called leader without a base had evoked even a comment from Mr. Dick Gupwell of the European Parliament secretariat who had said that "Khan came an isolated man to the Round Table but had become a martyr because of the arrest."

Attitude towards ISI: The Kashmiris had no control over Khan and Khan had no love for the Kashmiris, he said. There now existed as many as 134 militant groups in the Valley. "I had told Brig. Asad of the ISI that I will not ride a horse whose reins I do not hold and which I do not control", Mr. Qureshi said while stating his opposition to teenaged Kashmiri boys being trained by Pakistan and sent back to fight against a regular army." Khan, he said, had betrayed his JKLF men repeatedly and ignored those like Afzal Tahir, Shabir Chowdrey, Azmat Khan, Arif Shahid and others who had made sacrifices for the party. "I can make a JKLF extending from Srinagar to New York, but I don't want to do that because they weaken our struggle. Look at Khan's group today — there is no person who can discuss issues with him, they are all illiterates and incapable of thinking," he stated.

On Ms Benazir Bhutto becoming the prime minister of Pakistan, he said that she was perceived in India as a liberal and a believer in democracy. Then the two democracies should give peace and normalcy as a gift to the people of Kashmir. If they did not do so, history would not forgive them. They must take courage in both hands and resolve the problem. If the rulers did not do so, the people would do it, he claimed. There was no use depending on the European Parliament or the US for a solution to the Kashmir problem as they only "enacted drama."

Interview 10

HASHIM QURESHI INTERVIEWED BY THE SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF DAILY EXCELSIOR, JAMMU, APRIL 13, 1996

Kashmir cries for peace with honour

Q: Your perception of the latest situation in Kashmir please.

A: The movement in Kashmir has degenerated into inter-group rivalry and clashes between groups of Kashmiris are now fighting as counter-insurgency outfits. Muslim Conference accuses Hizbul Mujahideen for the killing of Muhammad Sultan Butt, the brother of the Hurriyat Executive member Prof. Abdul Ghani Butt. At the same time, Jamaat-e-Islami, a component of APHC accuses Muslim Conference of murder of Abdur Razzaq, the Legislative Assembly member from Jamaat-e-Islami. When these components are engaged in mutual gang-rivalry, what would Kashmiris expect from APHC? Prior to the killing of Shabbir Siddiqui's JKLF group in a clash with the security forces in Hazratbal area, Mr. Azam Inquilabi and some more Kashmiri leaders accused the APHC that they had signalled for the killing of 22 JKLF activists because the Hurriyat had issued a statement a day earlier that it would not accept one party's hegemony. But from this, there is an impression that Yasin Malik's group, too, was not very happy with the emergence of Siddiqui group in JKLF. It is pertinent to note that at the time of Hazratbal occupation by Shabbir Siddiqui together with Hizbul Mujahideen in

1993 or at the time of occupation of Chrar-e-Sharif shrine by Mast Gul and his associates, APHC never decried the occupation of these holy places. Of course, on both the occasions it condemned the siege by the security forces. The people ask the question: why did APHC decry Shabbir Siddiqui's action in Hazratbal? Was it because he was not Hurriyat member? It gives rise to the inference that those in Hurriyat do the right thing and those out of it do the wrong as was done by Shabbir Siddiqui.

My party and I are against occupation of holy places by anybody or their siege by the security forces. We are against shedding innocent blood. Again when APHC or any of its components gives a call for hartal, people somehow oblige them. At another time when another militant group like the Ikhwanul Muslimoon, dubbed by APHC as pro-establishment, gives the call for hartal, people oblige them. All this shows that late Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad was right in his assessment of Kashmiri character. Should we infer from this that the youth of Kashmir are only sacrificial goats and nobody has real concern for them? This is the present situation.

Q: Parliamentary elections have been announced in the country including J&K State. Assembly elections would follow. How do you explain the prospect?

A: Government of India and many foreign countries do not consider APHC to be the true and undisputed representatives of the people of J&K. These are other political parties like NC, Mahaz-e-Azadi, Peoples' Front etc. in the regions of the State. They also claim to be the representatives of the people. The most credible way for the APHC and other political parties for proving their claim would be to fight the elections and with a thumping majority as Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah used to win. Nobody would then dispute their claim. In that case APHC, having established its claim as the major representative party could, later on, ask its members to resign as happened in the State of Lithuania in the days of Soviet Union. If this happens, it would give a new direction to Kashmir struggle for political rights.

Q: Some of the dissident leaders have an objection to taking an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of India while deciding to participate in the elections.

A: Mr. Abdul Ghani Lone, President Peoples' Conference and a leading member of APHC took the oath, fought elections, won it on Congress

ticket and became a minister. Sayyid Ali Shah Geelani, the APHC member of Jamaat-e-Islami fought three elections after taking the oath each time. Likewise, some more leaders among the dissidents took the oath and fought the elections in the past. It is a different story whether they won or lost in the hustings. Why the volte face now? Was that stance only to acquire power? Now there is the cause of the people, they are making a pretext of the oath. In regard to elections, let me state categorically that elections in the valley without the participation of the internally displaced persons, particularly the Kashmiri Pandits, is meaningless. Pandits are integral patty of Kashmiri society and nobody can deny them the right to be in the place of their origin. It is the moral as well as religious duty of Muslims in the valley to bring back the Pandits and give them love and protection. In Islam, a neighbour has far more rights than a kith. It is a feeling throughout the world that some people in Kashmir do not want the Pandits to return because in Kashmir they have illegally usurped the property of Pandits. This brings a bad name to Kashmiris and if we do not rise against it, that would mean we are compromising with what is illegal and prohibited in our religion. The test of a majority community's moral and ethical standard is how much care and interest has lit for its minority in the neighbourhood. The same principle is applicable to the majority-minority relations in Indian society which is the best guarantor of strengthening the nation.

Q: Why do the Kashmiris stand alienated from the national mainstream despite the Government of India sinking billion of rupees in the State since 1947?

A: Centre - State relations ought to have percolated down to the masses instead of being confined to top leadership only. Personalisation of politics brewed antipathy with the passage of time. Since accountability was lacking benefits accrued to the acquisitive groups only. Not the common masses of Kashmir but only a small group became the beneficiary. According to population, J&K deserved only 0.8 per cent of the national budget. But in fact it received 2.8 per cent. Despite this, the masses remained deprived.

Q: What are India's failings in Kashmir?

A: Politically there have been many. For various reasons something more needed to be done besides providing liberal funds. When economic backwardness continued, masses developed a sense of pessimism and loss with the arrangement. Their repeated protests

made no impact on New Delhi. Indian policy planners should have identified areas of priority while planning Kashmir's development. Communication stood at the top. If China could build the Karakorum Highway over the roof of the world, why was not railway link between Kashmir and Indian plains undertaken till date? Imagine the damage that has done. Equally, of immense priority was the production of electricity to meet not only the lighting but also heating requirements in the valley. After forty-nine years of independence, people in Kashmir are still glued to 'kangri' for eight months in a year. What economic progress can be there when we have to wait for thirty or forty years for the electricity to be generated from multi-billion projects from Salal, Dul Hasti, Uri etc.? With abundance of water resources in the valley, small local generating projects would have been ideal as well as economical.

Horticulture industry in Kashmir could have become the mainstay of our economy. Despite scores of agricultural research institutes and universities in the country including one in the State, the scan of apple could not be controlled with total disaster of the industry. More than half of our produce goes waste for want of transportation at proper time. Juice extraction units could have been spread over the entire land in India. We had a tremendous market. Nobody thought about it. If in Holland a fraction of land can produce flowers that earn them millions of dollars annually, why we in Kashmir cannot do it? Could we not develop sheep and animal husbandry in a way that we had no need to import sheep for mutton from Rajasthan? Could we not develop inexpensive plants to bottle mineral water since we have springs of fresh water in abundance? Cheap electricity would have meant industrialisation of the valley and the State and generating large employment potential. We have failed ourselves and our plans have failed us. The key to Kashmir's prosperity is electricity and we have the potential to produce it and sell it. Why was the 440 KV transmission line project cancelled when it had been signed with the Soviet Union? What were the forces behind that cancellation? Why were smaller projects like Cadbury cancelled? Why was there always negative approach from our entrenched State bureaucracy to the investments by Indian industrialists? Our mineral wealth remains untapped. How can we attract tourists when we don't have enough of electricity for lighting purpose? Kashmir is suited for grape cultivation and like Tunisia, we could export fine wines to European countries and the Americas. Imagine the socio-economic revolution that could be ushered in if we had a vast network of electric railways within and outside the valley and other parts of the State. These are

the ways how people begin to respect the government and cooperate in the nation building process.

Q: What is your impression of Pakistan's Kashmir policy since you have lived there?

A: Pakistan has a feudal system. Feudals control her politics. In order to safeguard their interests, the feudals have managed to elicit the support of military and bureaucracy. There is nothing by the name of Kashmir policy. Kashmir bogey is kept alive only to keep themselves in positions of power. In order to keep Kashmir question alive, which in turn keeps them in their positions, they occasionally embark on adventurism as in 1965. In 1965 war, when Indian troops advance to the outskirts of Lahore, Pakistan withdrew her commandos from Kashmir inducted with the motive of creating turmoil in the valley. Pakistan has trained Kashmiri hard-liners and has inducted mercenaries from foreign countries into the valley. This has given a different turn to Kashmir situation and the freedom struggle has got transformed into a fundamentalist gang-rivalry as in Afghanistan. This has destroyed Kashmir's indigenous culture and her tradition of peaceful coexistence.

Please not that POK (Azad Kashmir) emigrants in foreign countries remit more than a billion dollars annually to Pakistan as their savings. Despite this there is not a single university, a medical college, an engineering college, polytechnic institute or industrial complex in PoK. Are Pakistanis friends of the Kashmiris in PoK? Pakistan has rejected the third option for Kashmir throughout. Obviously what she wants is to retain the part of the State under her occupation, pressurise India through insurgency and finally on the negotiating table settle for a portion of Kashmir. Kashmiris in the valley do not understand this gameplan and agreed to become party to fundamentalism and its propaganda. I and my party do not agree to this. We support the unification of J&K State and after that process, we support for cooperation with the neighbouring countries including India and Pakistan. It has to be known that four former militant commanders of Kashmir Valley were maximally utilised by the ISI but ultimately they realised that they were being used by her for their own interests without having any love lost for Kashmiris. This is Pakistan's Kashmir policy.

Q: India and Pakistan have been fighting the Kashmir battle at the UNHRC in Geneva and New York through NGOs. What is your comment on this scenario?

A: The NGO game is essentially the methodology of western powers to serve their own interests. The tactics aims at blackmailing Asian, African and Latin American people and coerce them into accepting their diktat especially in economic aspect. Western countries keep a close watch as to which of the countries in developing world they could subject to harassment by the some NGOs so that they would pressurise them for economic concessions. What reigns supreme are their economic interests for which they are made an instrument. Kashmir is being discussed for last five years yet nothing has been done to save the situation. On the other hand when the US found its interests threatened in Kuwait, she roped in all major European powers and some Arab states and subdued Iraq within two weeks and secured her oil interests in the entire Gulf. Now it is trying to bully and cripple Iran because that country is standing up to them. North Korea and India (on Kashmir question) are also their targets.

I am in Europe for last nine years. I could have obliged many NGOs who approached me but they could not satisfy me on one question. They could not satisfy me that they were not standing against poor Asian countries indirectly and were not serving the interests of the western countries. NGOs coming from distant developing and under-developed countries to the Human Rights Commission in the hope of finding justice, are disillusioned within twenty-four hours of their arrival. How ironic that those who sold us for seventy-five lakh rupees are now the very agencies whom we approach in the UNHRC for justice. Thus we give pinning chip to the developed countries to subject us to their economic Balkanisation and political blackmail. Let me tell you that I know the chief of one NGO (and incidentally he is a solitary member of his organisation as well). In Geneva, he stays in the same five star hotel in which President Bill Clinton stayed. But delegation of the Kashmiri people whom he claims to be representing at the UNHRC, has to forego one time meal to make both ends meet during their stay in an expensive city like Geneva. The tariff of the hotel in which their 'representative' stays is about fifteen thousand rupees per night. Who pays for him? Obviously some agency and for some definite purpose.

Q: What about human rights violations in Kashmir?

A: India is the world's largest democracy. Her governance is based not only on her situation but also on her great civilization of which the Father of the Nation, Gandhiji, was the symbol. If a militant commits violation of human rights, it is his lack of knowledge of principles

governing his conduct in a civilised society. No doubt nobody would uphold the violation. But human rights violation by the security forces would mean a stigma to the great Indian culture and philosophy of government. It is unpardonable. Further, let me cite the case of Andrabi. Even for argument's sake, if we say he was not killed by the security forces, yet in principle and in law, Indian state was bound to provide him security which it did not. Likewise Kashmiri Pandits too had a right to be protected against exodus and they were not.

Whosoever is behind the policy of violation of human rights in this way is not a friend of India and is serving the purpose of ISI.

While returning to Kashmir after twenty-seven years, I want that I could bring to all people of Kashmir, irrespective of religion, faith and ideology, peace with honour and dignity as a gift. I am looking forward to that opportunity so that my efforts being stability not only to Kashmir and India but to the entire sub-continent.

KLF leader decries violence

Srinagar, August 3. In a letter to a local contact, Hashim Qureshi, who hijacked an Indian Airlines plane to Lahore in 1971, has appealed to Shabbir Ahmad Shah and others spearheading the current subversive activities to stop acting as "tools" in the hands of Pakistan's intelligence agencies and to help build a "real liberation struggle."

Qureshi, presently in Holland, was a staunch supporter of the hanged KLF activist, Maqbool Butt, who was opposed to Amanullah Khan, the KLF supremo, because of the latter's views about an armed struggle. Through the letter, Qureshi has sought to remind the present leadership of the KLF which is working according to a plan hatched by the ISI on the instructions of the late Gen Zia-ul-Haq, that the "killing of innocent Kashmiris through blasts" was against the basic principles of the front.

In Qureshi's view, Indian defence personnel posted in Kashmir and politicians protecting the interests of Pakistan and India should be the target of the armed struggle for "liberation" of Kashmir. He emphasises that one of the basic principles of the KLF is to seek liberation from both India and Pakistan.

Qureshi also strongly denounced attacks on Hindu shrines as the KLF stands for secularism and guarantees equal status to people belonging to all castes, creeds and religions.

Diplomats murder: Qureshi claims that he never approved Amanullah Khan's plan for killing the Indian diplomat, Ravindra Mhatre, in Birmingham in February 1984. In fact, he "resigned from the central committee of the front and from the post of the organiser in 1985 when I could not stop childish terrorist activities masterminded by Amanullah Khan." Qureshi holds Amanullah Khan responsible for the hanging of Maqbool Butt a few days after Mhatre's assassination. He believes that the Indian government would never have hanged Butt if the KLF, acting under instructions from Amanullah Khan, had not organised the kidnapping of Mhatre. He recalls an incident in the UK in which he grappled with Amanullah Khan after the hanging of Butt. Other front members intervened and separated them. He reveals that Amanullah Khan had planned to poison a water tank on a train from Jammu to Delhi besides planting a bomb on the train in 1984. "Luckily, the plan did not materialise," he says. Qureshi points out that once he was in Pakistan when the ISI suggested that Kashmiri youth be brought from across the border and given training in subversion. "But I refused, because primarily I do not agree with the idea of working for Pakistan, rather than for the liberation of Kashmir both from India and Pakistan

He says the present leadership of the front was deceiving sincere workers of the organisation by hiding from them the fact that Pakistani forces will never vacate the areas under their occupation to pave the way for creation of an "independent Kashmir". Qureshi also denounces the KLF's alliance with the Peoples' League and the Jamaat-e-Islami for they believe in Kashmir's accession to Pakistan.

(The Times of India, New Delhi, August 4, 1989)

Kashmiri expats call for end to armed struggle

Tripartite talks idea favoured

Dammam, Mon.

The Kashmiris living in the Kingdom have strongly supported the complete dropping of the armed struggle as a means to achieve

independence, a Holland-based Kashmiri leader who held several rounds of talks with the people in the Kingdom, said today. Hashim Qureshi, an exiled Kashmiri, said that the Kashmiris have unanimously endorsed the plan to elect their officials to represent them in a tripartite meeting with India and Pakistan to discuss their struggle for an independent homeland.

Qureshi, now on a tour of the Kingdom, visited Kashmiris in Eastern Province, Central Province and the Western region in the last two weeks to drum up support for a fresh direction in the quest for political self-determination. He also refuted the statement of former Pakistan prime minister Benazir Bhutto, as published in today's issue of the Saudi Gazette, that a free Kashmir is not viable because "it will become a centre of intrigues and conspiracies" among Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, China and Central Asia.

"The Kashmiris have lived peacefully among themselves and their neighbours. If independence is finally gained, we Kashmiris can assure the world that we want only peace. It is unfair for politicians to use us and the issue of Kashmir for their own political whims and propaganda," Qureshi said.

"Bhutto is hoping that when Kashmiris in occupied Jammu and Kashmir decide their future, they will decide to accede to Pakistan. That is her own personal, political wish. What about the hope of the Kashmiris themselves?" Qureshi asked. He said that a similar statement from India's Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao that Kashmiris in the Indian occupied territories should choose to accede to India has the same political motivation as that of Bhutto.

He added that politicians who are using the Kashmir issue to serve their own political ambition will not succeed because "the nations and the peoples of today's free world no longer believe in such propaganda and lies."

Qureshi who is still an active member of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), said he is happy and encouraged to the overwhelming support of Kashmiris in Saudi Arabia to seek tripartite discussions with India and Pakistan and abandon the use of arms.

Qureshi is due to visit other Gulf States. He leaves for UAE by the end of the month and will visit UK on his way back to Europe.

Saudi Gazette, December 29, 1992

HASHIM QURESHI ADDRESSED A PRESS CONFERENCE IN ISLAMABAD JUNE 1993

Respected Journalists, I would to communicate with you on Kashmir question and its possible solution in the light of my experience gained during my political struggle for the freedom of my homeland, Kashmir. I have been in expatriation for last six years. I had an opportunity of meeting with several diplomatic missions, human rights organizations, delegates of national freedom movements and politicians of international fame. I discussed the national question of Kashmir with them. I have noted their opinions on the dispute.

I am highly obliged to you for your presence here and I call it my pleasure to welcome you. I am fully aware of your great sense of responsibility in discharging your professional and nation obligations. Historically Kashmir was a union of states. Unfortunately, some conspirators and opportunists turned the union into three divisions in 1948. The situation in Srinagar of Indian occupied Kashmir is miserable these days. Normal activities of life remain suspended: Indian armed forces are brutally massacring Kashmiris, gang rape of Kashmiri women has become a routine. The region is under the rule of gun and lawlessness is rampant and business has come to a halt. A generation of Kashmiris is being eliminated. At the same time, fundamentalism is flourishing and Kashmiri Pandits have been forced to leave their homeland. At the time of the beginning of this movement, I was opposed to the direction which the movement had taken under the influence of foreign powers which pointed towards the division of Kashmir. Four years of continued struggle has achieved nothing. The situation is no better in Pakistan held Kashmir or the so-called Azad Kashmir. Externally backed privileged class has colonized this part of Kashmir which the colonisers

called liberated in the name of freedom. There is widespread illiteracy, poverty and unemployment and basic facilities of a satisfactory standard of living are absent. There are serious social evils like bribery and nepotism. Corruption and embezzlement of State exchequer are no more considered evil. Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Kashmir Council are squandering national resources. People of Azad Kashmir are deprived of their fundamental rights. Pakistan bureaucracy is denying the people the huge royalty from Mangla Dam, national forests, minerals and foreign remittances by Azad Kashmir emigrants and labourers in foreign countries.

The Government of Azad Kashmir is assisted by a Chief Secretary planted by the Government of Pakistan. Gilgit and Baltistan are ruled through alien and inefficient cadre of administrators. In these areas, people are deprived of their fundamental rights. They have neither the right of franchise nor are there higher courts to seek justice. Only a judicial commissioner is stationed there to decide the fate of the people. Sectarianism has been fomented to create inter-community hatred. This is precisely what the Zionism wants to do with the Muslims.

The illegal occupational elements of my motherland are least worried to set these ills right and bring comfort to people. They are exploiting Kashmir dispute to serve their selfish interests. Kashmiris have been totally ignored and sidelined from playing any role in the shaping of their destiny. Those now in illegal occupation of Kashmir territories are propagating that it is a regional dispute between the two countries. This means that in their eyes the Kashmiri nation stands de-recognised which is gross distortion of history.

India has imposed all its tyrannical designs on Kashmiri people taking support of a successful foreign policy. On the other hand Pakistan is crying for the implementation of UN resolutions. A few days ago, Pakistan tabled a resolution against India at the briefing of a Human Rights organization in Geneva listing human rights violation in Kashmir. Only three countries, Libya, Iran and Sudan promised to vote in its favour. Pakistan was put to an embarrassing situation and had to withdraw the draft resolution. This will indicate how effective is Pakistan's foreign policy. The truth is that both India and Pakistan have occupied Kashmir in violation of international law. The puppets of Pakistan Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Kashmir Council have usurped the rights of Kashmiri people. These puppet governments have been used to sponsor fundamentalism and induct the same into Kashmir movement. They have been working along the lines that takes to the division of Kashmir. The logical conclusion of taking up the gun is before us. Neither

the chains of slavery are broken nor are our backwardness and poverty eliminated. Liberty remains a distant thing. In Kashmir, life is under physical threat because insecurity is the order of the day. While Pakistan has failed to mobilise international opinion in her favour on the question of Kashmir, India has sustained the status quo. There are rumours of division of Kashmir. There are several proposals apart from this. One is to make the Kashmir valley into an independent state and another proposal is to divide Kashmir on the grounds of religion. We, the Kashmiris, would like to serve the conspirators a warning that we will thwart every attempt of dividing Kashmir. It should be noted by everybody that division of Kashmir will lead to the destruction of the whole region.

To put an end to the Kashmir dispute, all armed forces in Kashmir should be withdrawn and her independence recognised. A negative attitude to the peaceful resolution of Kashmir tangle may lead to great damage to both India and Pakistan. Entire population of the sub-continent cannot escape the repercussions of that tragedy. Kashmiris do not recognise any agreement or resolution passed without the participation of their popular leadership nor accept conditional resolution for plebiscite pending before the UN. Pakistan should withdraw its entire armed personnel deployed in the Kashmir region and a national democratic government with jurisdiction over Gilgit, Baltistan and Azad Kashmir regions should be constituted and recognized for its sovereign status. Indian armed forces should also vacate Kashmir so that the territorial integrity and solidarity of Kashmir is ensured. Both the countries should recognise Kashmir as an independent state. We are for peace among all people but we are determined to scuttle conspiracies against us.

My proposal of settlement of Kashmir dispute is (a) immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kashmir (b) elimination of cease-fire line facilitating interaction between the people of two parts of Kashmir (c) election of representative in the presence of UN peace force (d) elected representative on both sides to enter into dialogue for peaceful resolution of the dispute. At the moment, we appeal to India to stop brutalities against the people of Kashmir and we place on record our acknowledge of the struggle of freedom fighters and their sacrifices.

Respected journalists, it has become necessary to hold elections in all the regions of Kashmir, enter into meaningful dialogue through the representatives and decide the matter youngsters who have migrated from Indian held Kashmir to Muzaffarabad and are camped there and other towns of Azad Kashmir, deserve our special attention because their

suffering is immeasurable. They have take to drugs out of sheer frustration. As they spent their youth in trauma, their leadership is serving the interests of intelligence agencies. This leadership is responding only to self-aggrandisement making Kashmir dispute and the sacrifices of Kashmiri youth their business. I strongly condemn brutal massacre of Kashmiris by Indian security forces and appeal to the people of India to pressurise their government to stop these inhuman acts. I invite the intelligentsia of India and Pakistan to force their governments to give the right of self-determination to the people of Kashmir and ensure peace in the sub-continent. Thank you

PART THREE

PRESS COMMENTS

1. 'Let entire JK elect constitution assembly'

New Delhi: JKLF leader, Hashim Qureshi has written to the Indian and Pakistan Prime Minister and the UN Secretary General questioning the validity of the resolutions on Kashmir and suggesting elections in the whole of J&K, including PoK, Gilgit and Baltistan to form a constitution assembly. A copy of the letter, dated August 29, 1993, was sent to UNHCR from Amsterdam, where he has been living in self-exile after his release from the jail in Pakistan.

In his letter, Mr. Qureshi wrote that the UN resolutions on Kashmir were a result of the India-Pakistan conflict and had no mandate from the people of J&K. In his earlier articles he had maintained that after the signing of the Simla Agreement in 1972, the UN resolutions had lost their validity, for the world body gives legal status to bilateral agreements between member countries.

Mr. Qureshi blamed the military bureaucracy for not allowing a settlement of the Kashmir problem. He also blamed what he called anti-democratic forces for this tension. He wrote that Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's deviation from his support to the third option was a proof of how the real kings influenced democratic institutions. In his interview to the BBC, Mr. Sharif had favoured the third option to Kashmir but he soon backslided.

Hitting at the Pakistani military, he wrote, "How will the entire democracy be held hostage to these Generals who live in the lap of luxury in a Third World country, while exploiting the state powers whenever they wish?" He appealed to the two Prime Ministers to open the borders in

Kashmir to facilitate the movement of the people. He also writes that elections be held in the whole of J&K, without any preconditions of the Indian constitution or the so-called interim constitution of occupied Kashmir, to form a constitutional assembly.

(*The Tribune*, Chandigarh (India) September 10, 1992)

2. Exiled JKLF member backs 3-way talks

Abu Dhabi: A tripartite meeting of Kashmiris with officials from India and Pakistan is likely to meet with more effective results than continuation of an armed struggle, according to an exiled member of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front. Hashim Qureshi, currently on a tour of Gulf and other countries to seek support for resolving the contentious Kashmir issue, told *Emirates News* that a review of Kashmiri opinion worldwide indicated that a tripartite meeting was more in favour among them than recourse to militant tactics to resolve the situation. He suggested that to initiate the process, an election for a constitutional assembly be held in all parts of Jammu and Kashmir including Azad Kashmir and Gilgit, Baltistan, without any preconditions

Qureshi hoped that the Kashmiri organisations will come together and bring in pressure from the US to ensure that free elections are held in Kashmir. Qureshi, who was involved in the hijacking of an Indian plane in 1971, was given a sentence of 19 years that was later commuted to 9 years. He pointed out that he was only 17 years old when the hijacking took place. Such type of armed struggle was unlikely to produce results, especially in Islamic nations, which abhor the use of force, he pointed out.

Qureshi, who now lives in Amsterdam, called for opening the borders to enable free movement of Kashmiris across the territories held by India and Pakistan. He urged that a quick decision be made to allow the Kashmiris to elect their Government.

(*Emirates News*, January 7, 1993)

3. Kashmiris hail tripartite talks plan

Abu Dhabi: Kashmiris living in various parts of the world are in favour of dropping the armed struggle as a means to gain independence and have endorsed the proposal calling for a tripartite meeting to solve their chronic problems.

This was stated by Hashim Qureshi, an exiled member of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, now on a tour of some countries to muster support for new initiatives to relieve the deadlock over the disputed territory.

Qureshi said Kashmiris should elect their own representatives who could confer with officials from India and Pakistan. To set the ball rolling, an election for a 'constitutional assembly should be held in all parts of J&K, including Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan, without any preconditions of Indian constitution or interim constitution of Azad Kashmir brought into play, he told Gulf News in an interview. Kashmiri organisations will bind together and seek the support of US President - elect Bill Clinton to pressurise India and Pakistan to allow free elections in the occupied territories, Qureshi said.

The world in this century can no longer accept armed struggle as a means of achieving political self-determination and Islamic nations have also slammed the use of force to gain independence and freedom, he remarked.

Calling for a change in the strategy to resolve the contentious issue, he said the borders should be thrown open in held territories. "Let people move freely and understand each other," he said. "We should bear in mind that J&K is historically and geographically a federal and confederated political entity," he stated. According to Qureshi, whose calm demeanour defies explanation of involvement in high drama events like hijacking, a workable and feasible mandate could be achieved only by elections based on each constituency within these political units. Tragically even today neither India nor Pakistan seems to realise the explosiveness of the situation and wars never deliver solution, he said.

(Gulf News, January 7, 1993)

4. *Top JKLF leader appeals for peace'*

New Delhi: The leader of the so-called JKLF, Hashim Qureshi, has appealed to the people of Kashmir not to play into the hands of those who would not mind sacrificing the whole nation for their own selfish ends. In a signed article sent to UNI, he expounds his new found philosophy of non-violence instead of armed struggle in Kashmir. Armed struggle, he writes, has driven six lakh Muslims from Kashmir to different parts of India and has brought all round destruction in the valley besides defeating the cause of the Kashmir movement. It has ruined the industry and rendered people jobless. J&K was one state in India where the literacy percentage was 47 per cent but now it seems the whole new generation of Kashmiris will be illiterate, thanks to the armed struggle, he says.

Those supporting armed struggle refer to Afghanistan as an example of liberation through the barrel of the gun. But Afghanistan has been turned into ruins and those fighting for its liberation are today killing one another. "May God not give us the Afghanistan-like liberation," he writes.

Hashim, who himself resorted to terrorism as a means to achieve "liberation" for Kashmir in 1971, has now come to realise that this tactical is only destroying the Kashmiris and encouraging those who masquerade as "holy warriors (mujahideen)." Once these "holy warriors" are caught, they become informers for the Indian army. Instead of fighting the Indian army, these mujahideen kidnap and kill Kashmiris for money, generating feelings of hatred, he says.

But the Muslims are still not prepared to accept the truth just like the Pakistani government which, in 1971, kept on telling the people of how its army was scoring victory after victory against the Indian army and the Mukti Bahini in East Bengal. But on December 16, the whole Pakistani nation was shocked into frenzy when the truth came before them, Qureshi says. He writes that even Pakistanis have begun to fear that Kashmir might further break up the country. He appealed to the Kashmiris to let those who had fled the state return home without any preconditions and also asked the Indian intelligentsia to raise their voice against the alleged atrocities in Kashmir perpetrated by what he calls the Indian security forces.

(*The Independent*, New Delhi, January 24, 1993)

5. *'Joint political forum key to Kashmir problem'*

Peshawar: Hashim Qureshi, the exiled leader of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front has suggested that a joint political forum could be more useful towards thrashing out the 46-year old problem instead of violence. He was here on a short visit and during an informal chat with newsmen, strongly advocated the need for changing the strategy for solving the Kashmir dispute.

In this connection he suggested that the armed struggle against the Indians had failed to produce any results so far except that it had resulted in large scale killing of innocent Muslims and vast destruction of their property. Besides, it had encouraged some of the political parties in Pakistan to actively involve in the struggle in one way or another. That, he said was more true about the Jamaat-e-Islami and the Muslim League backed Muslim Conference. The former, he alleged, had collected large amounts of money in the name of Kashmiris but none of the money had reached the Kashmiri freedom fighters. A political platform, he suggested, besides putting an end to massacre and devastation, will eliminate the chances of the issue being exploited for political motives by such parties. He viewed that instead of being provoked on the possibility of the third option, that is independent Kashmir, the authors of the 'Kashmir *banega* Pakistan; must keep in mind that the third option had, for the first time been suggested by no less a person than the Quaid-e-Azam. He quoted the All India Muslim League President from the Pakistan Times dated June 18, 1947 who said,

" the Indian states would be free either to join the Indian constituent assembly or the Pakistan constituent assembly or to remain independent." Those opposing the third option, he believed, were not doing so on principles but only because they feared that they would lose their political "*jamadaris*".

Hashim Qureshi said that those advocating the armed struggle must realise the damage and ruin it had already caused and could cause further. The traditional cottage industry of the valley, he said, had been totally destroyed while tourism had also ceased to exist. Besides, he pointed out the happenings in the valley had unnecessarily created serious problems for Pakistan which could be on the verge of being declared a terrorist state on charges of supplying arms and ammunition to the "Mujahideen" in the occupied Kashmir.

The Muslim *Ummah's* approach as a whole, he remarked, has been a total disappointment over the issue while within the valley itself

the Kashmiris were divided into 135 different groups with some of them serving as informers against each other. He observed that the situation in the valley was gradually causing frustration which obviously could not be helpful to their cause.

(*The Muslim*, Islamabad, May 1, 1993)

PART FOUR

LETTERS

Letter 1

August 29, 1992

To

H.E. P.V. Narasimha Rao
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

H.E. Nawaz Sharif,
Prime Minister of Pakistan,
Islamabad

H.E. Butrous Ghali,
Secretary General of the UNO,
New York

Subject: The Crisis in Jammu and Kashmir

Dear Sirs,

The increase of human right violations, both by the security forces and militant organizations and the vast destruction of public and private property which has crippled the entire way of life in the vale of Kashmir, seems to be heading towards an unavoidable military conflict. This situation compels me to write this letter.

The history of the last forty years shows a very clear picture, which proves that neither party involved was or is seriously trying to solve the problem of Jammu and Kashmir, and that they are merely trying to put the blame at each others feet. The UN resolutions were the result of the Indo-Pakistan conflict with regard to Jammu & Kashmir, without any mandate from the people of Jammu Kashmir.

The people of Jammu Kashmir have been badly exploited due to the Indo-Pakistan conflict. Without the consent of the people, the state of Jammu & Kashmir has been forcibly divided for the last forty years. Families have been divided, the economy has been crippled and the victims in this situation are the people of Jammu & Kashmir.

Tragically, even today, neither side seems to realise the explosiveness of the situation or the consequences thereof. Instead of searching for ways to avoid an ultimate political disaster, each side appears to be adding to the explosiveness of the situation. War never was and never will be a solution to political problems. No one will gain anything except for the addition of ever more miseries to the lives of our poor, innocent masses. It will lead to the massive destruction of lives and property and it will drive us centuries backwards. If we fail to prevent a war, history will hold us all equally responsible. Our political attitudes in the recent past towards peace and prosperity make our own masses doubt our sincerity. Without peace in the region, prosperity will forever remain a dream.

The objective realities of improving the condition of the masses, the future of our children and the historical developments of our changing world demand a fundamental change in our attitude. Keeping the whole region as a war zone is in conflict with everybody's basic interests.

Wrongly or rightly, it is commonly understood that the enmity between India and Pakistan has no bearing on the lives of the masses and is only artificially maintained by the ruling elite of both the countries. Whether this commonly believed understanding is correct or not, the bureaucracy and in particular the military bureaucracy is the main reason why nothing constructive is being done. These anti-democratic forces too do not want to solve the Jammu & Kashmir question. If we look back at the history of the subcontinent, this trend is very clear, particularly in Pakistan.

History has shown that every move by any democratic government fails so long as the anti-democratic forces are strong enough to influence the democratic institutions. The anti-democratic forces resist

any solution of the Jammu & Kashmir question because it will threaten their position. The deviation of H.E. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif from the 'third option' leaves no doubt about these forces working in the background.

How can the entire democracy be held hostage to these 'Generals' who live in the lap of luxury in a third world while exploiting the state powers whenever they wish to do so. Was India liberated by Generals or was Pakistan created by them? Is it not a fact that they want to keep Jammu & Kashmir as the bone of contention? We hear often about the frightening problems of an independent State of Jammu Kashmir; the disintegration of India/Pakistan; the silk route; the Mangla dam; the position of Muslims in India and so forth and so on. Who is spreading all this outdated and baseless propaganda and to what purpose? The forces in the background, of course.

It is time for both democratically elected governments to take the political initiative towards solving the problem of Jammu & Kashmir now. Those must be decisive steps towards peace in the region: a policy of compromise and mutual understanding will be a precondition. Otherwise, the factional fundamentalism, terror and violence will prevail over reason in our society.

Therefore we would like to invite the democratic forces of both countries through your Excellencies, to come forward to join hands and strengthen democratic values in the region. Let us take Jammu & Kashmir question as a first step and solve it with completely democratic intentions.

Your Excellencies will agree that to solve the question of Jammu Kashmir, a mandate from the people of the State of Jammu Kashmir is the first condition towards a democratic solution. Therefore, we present the following proposals which, in our view, are the only way out of the current explosive situation :

1. With immediate effect the borders should be opened for the people of J&K to move freely in either part so that they could understand each other.

2. An election for a constitutional assembly should be held in all parts of Jammu & Kashmir including Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan without any precondition of Indian constitution or interim constitution of Azad Kashmir and under the supervision of the UN.

We should keep in mind that Jammu & Kashmir is historically and geographically, a federated and confederated political entity. Today, the situation is still very much the same. Jammu, Ladakh, Valley of Kashmir, Poonch and Gilgit Baltistan are very much intact political units.

A workable and feasible mandate can only be achieved by elections based on each constituency within these political units. The decision on the relationships between these units must rest with the democratically elected representatives of these units. Therefore, only the people of Jammu & Kashmir will have the final authority through their elected representatives, to decide the future of their regime.

Thanking you.

Yours Faithfully,

Hashim Qureshi

For Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front

Letter 2

To

Mr. Robert Oakley, US Institute of Peace, Washington, January
12, 1993

Dear Sir,

In the name of my nation I sincerely wish to express my gratefulness regarding the highly generous initiative that you and your organisation have taken regarding the Kashmir issue to be resolved on humanitarian grounds.

May I, first of all, call your attention to what follows. While holding a peace conference on Kashmir for the second time, you have ignored me now as at previous occasion. I am the one started the struggle for the Kashmiri nation. I was then just 17 years old and hijacked the Indian aeroplane 'Ganga' in 1971 on the instructions of late Muhammad Maqbool Butt, the martyr. I became aware of the problem of my nation when I was 14 years old and participated in demonstrations in Srinagar — throwing stones on occupational forces. I was caught by the police (CRP) and brought before the court. In the meanwhile I was severely beaten and my right leg was broken. Being still a minor, I was set free.

Three years later, after we made the hijacked Ganga plane land at Lahore airport, the Pakistani authorities directed us to set it on fire providing petrol for this purpose. Witnesses endorsed this statement in the special court set up in Pakistan for enquiring into the hijacking. I was condemned to 19 years imprisonment by this special court but was released after nine years of jail in 1980 on the orders of Pakistani Supreme Court. In early 1970s, we thought it necessary to turn the international attention towards Kashmir issue. This was the reason for me to float the National Freedom battle at the peak of terrorism. But today the political landscape is very different which has convinced me that I should put in my efforts for a peaceful resolution of Kashmir problem.

I was the founder of JKLF in Pakistan with Amanullah Khan and Dr. Farooq Haider. I am the first person who established JKLF on both sides of the occupied Kashmir as early as 1982 - 84 in my capacity as Chairman of the Organisational Committee. From 1984 to 1986, I became the JKLF Organiser. In 1986, I was forced to leave Pakistan because I

was seriously threatened. I took asylum in Holland . The reason for my fleeing Pakistan was that I did not agree to become an agent of the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan. As I was the head of JKLF in both the occupied parts of Kashmir, ISI tried to bribe me and then force me to start armed struggle against Indian occupation in Kashmir. My response was very clear since I believe that both Pakistan and India are illegally occupying our motherland and I do not accept that one of the two occupying forces fights its enemy on our land. After my refusal to betray my country, Pakistan declared me an Indian citizen and wanted to deport me to India or murder me. After I fled Pakistan, Amanullah Khan and some of his colleagues agreed to fall into the hands of ISI.

Now young Kashmiri boys below the age of 20 are recruited by the ISI, given one or two weeks' training in arms and sent back to the Indian occupied Kashmir in order to fight the Indian trained militaries. The result is that they become the targets of the bullets of Indian security forces. This is a conspiracy of destroying the entire young generation of the Kashmiri youth.

Additionally, in the name of religion, various armed groups like the Afghan mujahideen and the armed activists of Jamaat-e-Islami and other fundamentalists, having crossed the cease-fire line and come deep into Indian held Kashmir, have wrought a havoc on the people of the valley and turned Kashmir into ruins. Indian security forces play their own game with the result that the common Kashmiri is made to suffer. Indian security forces are reported to have committed atrocities, rapes and killings. Thousands of young boys continue to languish in interrogation centres and jails.

It is encouraging that an organisation like yours takes initiative to provide a platform where peaceful means of resolving Kashmir crisis can be discussed. This should be beneficial to the Kashmiri nation as well as to India and Pakistan. Of course India and Pakistan cannot be allowed to impose their domination over the occupied land. An approach to this problem is to be made not on religious but on humanitarian grounds, on democratic and secular grounds for all the five regions of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. No solution made on religious grounds or on regional grounds in favour of selected groups or under pressures from a particular leadership will be lasting. A decision has to be implemented through a genuine democratic process which means electing representatives from all the five regions, Jammu, Gilgit - Baltistan, Ladakh and Pakistan occupied Kashmir. The election process can only take place while both Indian and Pakistan troops vacate the occupied territories under the control of some non-aligned commission which

should be an impartial body overseeing the election process and guaranteeing free, democratic elections.

Please also find enclosed the letters I have sent to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan and also the appeal I made to the Socialist Group of the European Parliament on 18 October 1993 in Brussels. I hope that, in the future, your organization will spend some time to address the basic questions involved in the solution of Kashmir issue and to which I have made an allusion here.

With thanks
Hashim Qureshi
Amsterdam - Holland

Letter 3

To,

Mrs. Robin Raphael,
 Assistant Secretary (South Asia),
 US State Department
 November 18, 1993

Madam, being aware of the interest you have taken in the Kashmir issue, I wish to submit my views to you and respectfully request you to pay some attention to them.

Madam, please realise that the Kashmir problem has become a very serious and vital question in the sub-continent. Kashmir is my dear motherland. For nearly half a century in the past, Kashmir has been under serious threats and pressures from India, Pakistan, independentists factions (under the control of Pakistani ISI, manipulative obstructionists and religious fundamentalists.) This results in frightening growth of terrorism carrying the fear of death and destruction everywhere. Innocent people pay the price for these atrocities and the sub-continent as a whole is faced with the risk of another senseless and violent conflict.

In the name of my convictions, which are to restore a happy prosperous nation in Kashmir, where my people would enjoy freedom and harmony amongst themselves, I started an armed struggle. In 1971, I hijacked the Ganga plane. After having devoted 23 years of my life to the healing of the suffering of my people and nation as a political leader, I have resolved to struggle now for peace by peaceful means, to pray for peace by peaceful means and I live only for peace by peaceful means.

Madam, my nation is abducted by armed gangs. The Indian security forces, Kashmiri fundamentalists, Pakistani ISI and feudal-sectarian forces are taking my land as a chessboard while my people sink in deep economic, physical and mental depression. The threat of nuclear conflict in the sub-continent is real. But notwithstanding that, the problem can still be solved. The only condition is that India, Pakistan and Kashmiri democratic forces sit around the table with a sincere intention of restoring peace in Kashmir. We are ready for that.

In 1992, I addressed a letter to the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India. A copy is enclosed. I submitted my proposal in order to reach democratic secular solution to the problem. I also sent an appeal to the Socialist Group in the European Parliament when it organised a round-table on Kashmir, October 18 - 19, 1993 in Brussels. I also made an appeal to the European Parliament.

Madam, please allow me to say that if the US really wants peace to be restored in Kashmir then it should pay heed to the voice of the people who struggle for democratic and secular solutions. I began my struggle by resorting to terrorist acts. But my long experience and my personal suffering have made me undergo a radical change in my thinking. Violence results in grater violence bring in more victims and destruction of cherished values. I am, therefore, determined to make my contribution of saving my nation and the sub-continent from destruction and disaster.

I request for a meeting with you at your convenience. I need this meeting to give you feed back from ground situations in Kashmir. I shall be expecting your response to this request.

With thanks,

Sincerely,

Hashim Qureshi,

Former Organiser and Chairman JKLF

Letter 4

To,

Mrs. Benazir Bhutto,
Her Excellency the Prime Minister of Pakistan
 January 11, 1994

Madam,

May I please draw your attention to the damaging attitude of your foreign ministry regarding the Kashmir issue and its policy towards foreign embassies

I am a citizen of Kashmir. For the last twenty - four years, I have been fighting for the national liberation of Kashmir, starting my struggle as a follower of late Maqbool Butt *Shaheed*. In 1971, I hijacked the Indian aeroplane Ganga to Lahore. Your late venerable father, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the martyr, came in person to welcome us at the Lahore airport.

Madam, my position is simple. I fight for an independent Kashmir. I am against the religious splitting of Kashmir or its accession to Pakistan or India. On the basis of this principle, guided by the love for my people and nation, I wish you to know that your Secret Service Agencies and 'religious' fundamentalist factions are labelling me a traitor. I am loyal to the people of Kashmir and I am loyal and respectfully to the fundamental principles as enunciated by late Maqbool Butt. I struggle for an independent Kashmir and disregard accusations like these.

Madam, your broad-mindedness, liberalist and democratic principles are nevertheless also investing the possibility of accession of Kashmir either to Pakistan or India. But I would submit that this is an unacceptable solution because it goes against the principle of the right of self - determination enshrined in the UN Charter of Human Rights.

Please also consider that I was born in Srinagar, Kashmir. But now I am holding a Dutch passport and I have been refused a visa for Pakistan by the Pakistan embassy in Holland. On the basis of my previous Indian nationality, I was asked to indicate 'Indian citizenship' on my application for visa. I was also told that Kashmiri was not a nation. Now in the light of this, Madam Prime Minister, could you be kind

enough to tell me what is Pakistan's policy towards Kashmir? On the one hand you claim that Kashmir is a disputed territory and on the other, you declare by implication that Srinagar is part of India. Your Secret Intelligence Agency supplies revolutionary factions with arms and ammunition with the tacit understanding to support Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. Scores of Kashmiri youth get killed and our properties are destroyed by the Indian army. In fact the entire new generation of Kashmiris is being systematically destroyed by ISI directing pro-Pakistani elements to work against pro-independent masses. One would, therefore, ask whether this should be taken Pakistan's concept of the right of self - determination in Kashmir? Obviously, this is not a fair play with Kashmiris.

Please also find enclosed to this letter copies of letters I have sent to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan and also copy of the appeal I made to the Socialist Group of the European Parliament on October 18, 1993 at Brussels.

I hope that your government will seriously consider the points I have raised in this letter. I believe that these proposals should also be placed before the US Peace Institute which is showing concern about Kashmir issue.

With regards and thanks,

Sincerely Yours,

Hashim Qureshi

Former Organiser and Chairman JKLF

Letter 5

From Director (Opr)
Government of Pakistan (Ministry of Interior),
Directorate General of Registration,
7 - Civic Centre Near G.P.O., Islamabad,
Pakistan to Hashim Qureshi

No. Regn - 3/2/78 - 79 (Opr. I) July 10, 1985

To : Mr. Muhammad Hashim Qureshi,
House No. 831, Kashmir Lane,
Chur Chowk, Peshawar Road,
Rawalpindi.

Sub: Registration of children

Dear Sir,

I am directed to refer to your application form i.e. RG - II regarding registration of your children named Junaid Hashim and Sana Hashim Qureshi.

2. It is stated that as per communication of Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Interior you are an Indian national. Hence it is not possible for this Directorate to register your children under national Registration Act, 1973.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/-

(Mast Ali Khadim
Director (Opr) Tele: 821804

Note

(The reader needs to be reminded that both of my children were born in Pakistan yet Pakistan Government refused to issue Pakistani passport in their favour. Should the people in Kashmir infer from this official letter that if Kashmir is not a separable part of India then any citizen living in Kashmir is not a citizen of India. But according to Pakistan official policy, a passport is denied to me and my children despite the fact that I am a Class I State subject of J&K State. Does it not mean that there is contradiction in Pakistan's word and action in the context of her Kashmir policy?)

Letter 6

**From Terry Rooney M.P. Bradford
to Rt. Hon. M. Howard QC MP,
Home Office, London
May 31, 1994**

House of Commons

Dear Micheal,
Re: Mohammad Hashim Qurshi Ref. Q 12803

I write with reference to the above and in particular the Lunar House letter of 9th May which frankly amazes me. **By this logic I presume Nelson Mandela would have an exclusion order applied against him.** Can I request that you personally review the department's decision with special regard to the length of time since the conviction, the documentary evidence of change of political stance by Mr. Qureshi and the fact that the Dutch authorities are satisfied enough with his record to grant citizenship? An early reply would be appreciated.

Yours Sincerely
Terry Rooney MP
Bradford North

Letter 7

From Dr. Ghulam Qadir Wani
to Hashim Qureshi
March 13, 1995

(Dr. Ghulam Qadir Wani is one of the pioneers of armed struggle in Kashmir. I met him for the first time in Washington towards the end of 1992 in the chamber of Mr. Ghulam Nabi Fai. I argued with him against the taking up of the gun by our militants but he did not agree with me just because at that point of time, he was under the influence of Pakistani agencies. Prior to his visit to Washington, he had issued a press statement in Srinagar against me for preaching non-violence. The same Dr. Ghulam Qadir Wani wrote to me in March 1995 saying that I was right in what I had told him in 1992. He has since returned to Srinagar.)

P.O. Box 137, G.P.O., Muzaffarabad

Dear Brother Hashim Qureshi Sahib,

Hope you are fine along with your family members. With the growth of experience, I find the increasing truth and weight in your words. I have come to the conclusion that mere bookish knowledge is not enough: real importance rests with the experiences gained in the field of action. Here, a weekly Jamaat-e-Islami paper called *Zindagi* of Lahore published an interview with Amanullah Khan. The interviewer, Mr. Najmul Hasan Arif is the same journalist who has written a lot against Yasin Malik and Shabbir Ahmad Shah describing them illiterates and immature. He also wrote many things against Kashmir's freedom. Now he has brought out an interview with Amanullah Khan only to counter Azam Inquilabi. Amanullah Khan has gone down to such depths of levity that he has called an old friend and a highly dedicated activist of freedom movement and an able leader, Muhammad Azam Inquilabi as a 'mental case'.

In the course of four years, he has changed a number of parties. If by joining JKLF and APHC, Amanullah Khan has not become an accessionist, how come that Azam

Inquilabi becomes an accessionist by joining Tehreek-e-Hurriyat-e-Kashmir? You must have a look at this interview in order to understand to what extent shamelessness and levity one can fall. Today,

I am reminded of each word you had spoken and each assertion is vindicated by circumstances. You may send a copy of this letter to Shakeel Sahib and to Shabbir Sahib.

In the public meeting of March 11 at Muzaffarabad (held in connection with late Khurshid), I made a strong protest against and I exposed Amanullah Khan. Kindly let me know your reaction.

On the occasion of martyrdom day of Maqbool Butt on February 11, I wrote an article. A copy was despatched to *Kashmir Times* of London. The *Quaid* published it here. But about London, I do not know whether it was published. If you get into touch with *Kashmir Times* people, kindly make an enquiry. Kindly arrange to send me the Kashmir Number of *Kashmir Times*. My regards to everybody at your place.

In conclusion, I am sorry that I always differed with you but after having gone through the experience I find you were right.

Yours Sincerely,
(Ghulam Qadir Wani)

Letter 8

From Hashim Qureshi
to the Editor *Jang*, London,
August 25, 1990

Dear Editor,

A news under the caption 'The plan of controlling freedom movement by Indian agents' appeared in the London based daily *Jung* of August 23. The news was also carried by Karachi and Rawalpindi based daily *Jung* and in some more Pakistani papers. Under different headlines. It said: "that Mr. Qureshi, a prominent Kashmiri national was made the chief operator for conducting this plan and Dr. Farooq Abdullah was made coordinator." This was followed by lengthy self-made stories, all fabricated and imaginary.

Now I am a citizen of Kashmir and a leader of Liberation Front. I have also been the founder of Liberation Front organization in Pakistan, Azad Kashmir and Indian held Kashmir. For these antecedents, Pakistani and Kashmiri political circles attribute the aforementioned news to me. I am receiving innumerable telephone calls from different parts of the world.

This news is a part of a deep-seated conspiracy to malign my political and social character. A canard against me is spread. The truth is that with the announcement of interim government, Liberation Front split into two; one part was led by Amanullah Khan and the second by Dr. Farooq Haider. Since I happened to be one of the basic members of the Front, and with the support of the leadership of the Liberation Front of Indian held Kashmir, I tried my level best to bring about reconciliation between the two groups. The leadership of Indian held Kashmir even went to the length of issuing a warning to both the groups that if they did not come to a compromise, then the Liberation Front of IHK would announce its distancing from both the groups. This warning was conveyed by Hamid Shiekh to both the groups through me.

A suggestion emerged from IHK that representatives of both the groups should travel to a third country where they would be joined by the representatives of Liberation Front from IHK. This would facilitate serious discussion on the subject. With this Amanullah Khan despatched Altaf Qureshi (younger brother of Ashraf Qureshi) and Raja Muzaffar

Khan to a third country. But Raja Muzaffar Khan returned from the airport at the eleventh hour owing to security reasons. In his place Dr. Farooq Haider sent the chairman of students liberation front, Mr. Sajid Naz as his representative. From Srinagar, some influential representatives and militants participated in the meeting. The agenda was to re-unite the Liberation Front and to consider matters pertaining to the freedom movement so that it was put on the road to success. Obviously this meeting was held on the behest of the initiative from the leadership of both the groups of the Liberation Front in Azad Kashmir and the leadership of IHK.

It is nothing less than a canard that I wanted to grab the leadership of the Front as is implied in the news under reference. It is also a blatant lie to say that assembling of the Liberation Front leadership and the arrests etc. had anything to do with my suggestion. Srinagar - based Liberation Front leadership is fully aware that I had never made any suggestion of leaders assembling together. Contrary to it, for over a year, I used to talk to the whole leadership of the Liberation Front for half an hour at any given time. The subjects discussed in these talks were generally about the freedom movement and organisational matters.

As far as the question of two sons of Abdul Ghani Lone, the President of Peoples Conference is concerned that they had become informers against the Front and got all of them arrested including themselves, it has to be noted that Abdul Ghani Lone is under house arrest for last two years. His two sons are senior leaders of JKLF in IHK. Accusing them of being informers is a conspiracy against their patriotism and their sacrifices. It is also a deep-rooted conspiracy to bring about division in the leadership of the Liberation Front organization, the lone organization which has made sacrifices in blood and sweat for total freedom and self-determination of Kashmir. Its leadership is the most popular leadership at the moment.

It should be remembered that Liberation Front leadership, including Hamid Shiekh and Yasin Malik, was arrested in the house of the brother of the former D.I.G. Police, Mr. Watali named Zahoor Watali, who is a contractor. Amusingly, the Liberation Front had begun its present movement with an attack on Mr. Watali, the D.I.G in which Ejaz Dar was martyred. Later on some militant group in Srinagar took the revenge on Mr., Watali's brother and murdered him. The assassins had stayed in the murdered person's house for two days. Moreover the entire JKLF leadership of Srinagar including Yasin Malik and Hamid Shiekh

knew it well that no suggestion of their gathering together at one place had ever been given.

As far as the civil movement is concerned, all political circles in Kashmir agree that freedom movement is always fought under the control of a political platform. The entire population is mobilised to provide security to freedom fighters in their struggle. Freedom cannot be won by directing guns on security men in the cities and making the innocent people targets of bullets while retreating into thickly populated localities. Kashmiri people can provide security to the freedom fighters by bringing out processions, and making demonstrations and resorting to civil disobedience. In this way they can register full international support to their movement.

With regard to the plan of Dr. Farooq Abdullah and RAW, it is all nonsense. It is an old tradition in Pakistan and Azad Kashmir to brand the political dissidents as agents of India. We have the latest example of Prime Minister Ms. Benazir Bhutto. Newspaper *Jung* reported in its issue of 23 August that the government controlled mass media had begun a campaign against Benazir Bhutto accusing her to be an agent of India. Our martyred leader, Maqbool Butt was also labelled as Indian agent. Along with him the Plebiscite Front and National Liberation Front leaderships were also branded as Indian agents although Pakistani High Court and Supreme Court, both acquitted us all. The current accusations hurled on us are the handiwork of selfish and spineless politicians of Azad Kashmir and Pakistan who are doing business at the dead bodies of Kashmiri youth. They collect crores of rupees in the name of Kashmir and thus fill their coffers. Not a single penny goes to any relief fund in Srinagar elsewhere in IHK meant for the families and orphans of the martyred Kashmiris. The anti-independence and anti-Liberation Front forces are integral to this conspiracy aimed at undoing the ideology to which the Front is wedded, namely total freedom of Kashmir and her self-determination. This is because Liberation Front has become a the mass force in Kashmir at this moment. These nefarious designs cannot destroy the Front.

Epilogue 1

SOLUTIONS OF KASHMIR PROBLEM !!!

1. It must be realised that no government in India or Pakistan, howsoever strong, will surrender an inch of land in Kashmir to one or the other because both have made their respective people a hostage to Kashmir issue.

2. Pakistani rulers and people should not close their eyes to the reality that Kashmir was never and shall never become part of Pakistan.

3. Instigating a fighting in Kashmir on religious basis will never win international support. We have seen its consequences in Algeria; we have seen Afghanistan being turned into ruins by its own people. If we talk about fighting in Kashmir on religious basis, we must think about the fate of 180 million Muslims co-religionists of India. Religious wars have brought nothing but destruction to humanity.

4. Indian people and government should use all those resources for economic development which are at present diverted towards defence and establishment of peace and order in Kashmir because Kashmir issue appears to be a lasting burden on Indian masses.

5. India and Pakistan will continue to be on the brink of a war which could even mean an atomic war.

6. Owing to continuing dissensions among the third world countries, the western developed countries manage to take away the incredible figure of 52 billion dollars annually by way of trade deficit and profits from the third world as reported by the Malaysian Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammad Mahathir.

7. The people in Kashmir and Pakistan should realise that the new generation in India is almost ignorant about the facts of Kashmir issue; they have inherited the issue from their elders. Likewise the masses of Pakistan and Kashmir have been made a hostage to half truth about Kashmir problem by their rulers.

8. Whether the issue arose with Pakistan pushing the tribals into Kashmir or Indian troops entering Kashmir following the Maharaja signing the accession document, is a part of history. Let us come out of this historical morass and, in order to draw out one thousand two hundred an fifty million people of the sub-continent from confusion and try to find a solution of the tangle without hurting their sentiments and without bending their ego.

9. If solution No. 1 (given below) is not acceptable to both the countries, then solution No.2 would be most feasible particularly if Pakistani rulers want to demonstrate their sincerety towards Kashmir and Kashmiri people. This would also isolate India in the world community and convince it that Kashmir conflict is neither a regional nor a religious issue, it is only a national liberation movement. This solution was first mooted by late K.H. Khurshid, Privat Secretary to late Mr. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan and later on President of POK. He wanted that the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir should first be liberated and then made part of Pakistan. But we, the Kashmiri nationalists do not necessarily agree with Mr.Khurshids accession theory.

Solution No. 1: This solution is based on the will of the people of entire J&K State. I had proposed this solution as early as 1992 in the course of my interviews with the press. This solution is acceptable to all nationalist groups. There are several stages of the solution.

STAGE 1; After restoring Gilgit and Baltistan to the people of Azad Kashmir, Pakistan should give the people of these areas the right to elect their own representataives, through free and fair elections without any preconditions and the right to form their own government through these elected representatives. Thereafter, Pakistan should grant complete internal autonomy to these areas keeping in its hand the portfolios of defence, foreign affairs and currency.

Similarly, India should also give the people of the valley, Jammu and Ladakh the right to elect their own representatives through free and fair elections without any pre-conditions and the right to form their own government through these elected representatives. Thereafter, India

should grant complete internal autonomy to these areas keeping in its hand only the portfolios of defence, foreign affairs and currency.

After these a two freely elected governments come into existence, all restrictions on travel and trade between these two parts of Kashmir should be removed and they should even be permitted to carry on trade with foreign countries.

STAGE 2 ; A commission consisting of elected representatives from both sides of J&K should be formed within five years to decide on the future ties of Gilgit, Baltistan, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Ladakh and the valley and regional autonomy. At the end of these five years, India and Pakistan should transfer to the two sides the right to have their own common currency.

STAGE 3 ; During this stage extending over another five years, elected representatives of both sides should conclude an unanimous agreement for unified Kashmir. Free and fair elections should be held in unified Kashmir under a Commission comprising representatives of Kashmir, India and Pakistan and with international supervision. After an elected government of unified Kashmir thus comes into existence, India and Pakistan should transfer to it the responsibility for foreign affairs and help the new state join the United Nations and other international organizations.

STAGE 4 ; During this stage extending another five years, the responsibility for defence in respect of the unified Kashmir should be exercised jointly by a Joint Commission. At the end of this period of five years, Kashmir should be declared a demilitarised zone and India, Pakistan and J&K should sign a friendship and no-war pact and India and Pakistan should pull out their respective forces from Kashmir territory.

This stage- by- stage formula will pull the three parties from the brink of mutual destruction in a fratricidal war. The feelings of mutual suspicion and hatred created during the last fifty years will be removed within 15 years. An atmosphere of peace, harmony, mutual love and confidence will once again be restored. The problem of human rights will be resolved. Peace and friendship will be restored between India and Pakistan and the people of the sub-continent can start a new battle-a battle against poverty, misery and under-development and march together on the path to prosperity and economic development. Billions of rupees now being spent on their armed forces could be diverted

towards the economic developemnt of their people. What are the basic requirements for the acceptance and implementation of this formula? These are simple, namely: Good intentions, mutual faith and trust, sane and sober thinking on both sides and a realisatiaon that the time has come to do justice to the Kashmiris.

There will be no defeat to any side in this formula. Their will be no loss of face to any side India or Pakistan because of their having to withdraw from Kashmir in favour of the other. There will be victory for the right thinking people in India, Pakistan and J&k. It will be solution for all and defeat to none.

SOLUTION NO. 2: Pakistan be allowed to merge Gilgit and Baltistan with POK (Azad Kashmir) and Azad Kashmir be declared independent sovereign state representing all J&K territory like North Vietnam. This new state would first be recognised by Pakistan government and subsequently get its recognition by other countries through diplomatic channels. This act indicating sincerety towards Kashmiris will provide an open international platform for our foreign delegations and missions so that we can advocate the issue of the rest of the territories occupied by India. This will exonerate Pakistan from allegations of sponsoring,abetting and supporting terrorism on international level.

Pakistan should play the same role in Kashmir as was played by Russia and China in Vietnam. Pakistans unconditional withdrawal from the part of J&K territory under its occupation will compel India to follow suit. Please react to these suggestions and initiate a meaningful debate on the issue. We are a people with a great past and civilizational fund. As such we should have the capacity to resolve our problems through our own initiative. If we allow colonial and economic powers to decide our fate, then we must know that resolution of Kashmir issue will never be in sight. We shall only continue to become poor and poorer by filling the coffers of these exploitative powers whose economy depends on selling arms to the warring third world nations.

**Let us give our children books and computers
and not Kalashnikovs, explosives and drugs.**

Epilogue 2

SAVING JAMMU & KASHMIR

The cultural, environmental, linguistic, and intellectual destruction of Jammu & Kashmir should be a vital concern to all of us. We should be consumed with love and respect for all that is Jammu & Kashmir. Why is that all of us don't feel alarmed at the fact that Burushashki (language of Hunzakuts) is disappearing, or Shina (language of Gilgitis and Chilas) is disappearing, or that the music and poetic traditions are slowly fading away, or that the antiquities of Ladakh are being looted. If nothing is done to stop all of this we will go the way of other nations which have disappeared off the face of the earth.

Our struggle is not about territory - it is about our entire national existence. If we have lost our culture and identity then what good is our struggle? We must make every effort to ensure that Jammu & Kashmir does not become a graveyard for our culture and identity- the only traces of which remaining underground for scientists to discover centuries from now. Our struggle must incorporate a conscious and deliberate effort to promote and strengthen our cultural, linguistic, historical, and psychological ties to Jammu & Kashmir. We must revive our patriotism.

One subject which is rarely commented upon is the destruction of the environment of Jammu & Kashmir. Jammu & Kashmir for centuries has been famous for its heavenly beauty and natural splendour. Was it not the words of a Persian poet who called out about Kashmir - "*Agar firadus ber roye zaminast. Hamin Asto, hamin asto, hamin asto.*" (*If there is paradise on the surface of earth, it is this! it is this! it is this!*) We should as members of the nation of Jammu & Kashmir, honour and respect even the dirt of our land. The mountains, streams, valleys, margs, glaciers should all be viewed as our national treasures. And we

should strive to protect our environment as if it was our own lives we were protecting. We should believe the saying that we **"Inherit the earth from our children."**

Just like our culture and national identity, our environment has become the target of outside aggression by India and Pakistan. India and Pakistan have perpetually cleared our forests - officers of both countries have used their authority to cut forests and pocket the money. Perhaps the most notorious was Brigadier Asghar Ali of Pakistan who cleared whole forests in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. The result has been devastating to our Himalayan paradise. Furthermore, both armies have hunted and killed endangered species of Snow Leopard, Hangul Deer, and Musk Deer. In addition, both sides have continually tapped in the natural mineral resources of Jammu & Kashmir in a very destructive manner - blasting whole mountain-sides. This is all indicative of the fact that these two occupiers are treating Jammu & Kashmir as a colony - taking out resources but putting nothing back in except for hardship and woe.

But this is nothing new to Kashmiris. What is most alarming is that those people who took up arms have done the very same. They have used the gun to extort people and for self-aggrandizement. They have forcibly cut-down forests and killed our wildlife. In 1994 a raid on a group of traders in Srinagar hauled more than \$1 million worth of furs and garments made from 1,366 of the world's most endangered wild cats, tigers, snow and clouded leopards and Bengal tigers. The Dal Lake has become a septic tank because of encroachment and polluting by people - people did not follow the laws and started building illegally. Hizbul Mujahideen in Kulgam alone had been cutting forests and threatening locals if they resisted. These people, backed by Pakistan, gained power through gun and then they started looting our environment - in the same way Pakistan and India have been doing for 50 years! The stories and details of the sad occurrences are enough to break one's heart. They are all indicative of the loss of national honour and the self-respect that has disappeared with the coming of gun culture.

My request to my nation is that we should love Jammu & Kashmir. Along side our political struggle, we must re-educate and re-organize our people to love and respect their identity and restore their tie to the land of Jammu & Kashmir. We must realize that Jammu & Kashmir is *our* land and we should treat it as such ! We must not act as foreigners in our own homeland ! For God's sake - let's plant trees and clean our waterways so that flowers and forests may fill Jammu &

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Kashmir rather than graveyards and wastelands. Let's write poems and books using our beautiful languages.

WE MUST SAVE JAMMU & KASHMIR - in every sense - culturally, intellectually, morally, politically, and environmentally. This should be our battle-cry as sons and daughters of the soil !!

M. Hashim Qureshi

May 13, 1998

WITH LOVE TO
HINDU EDUCATION SOCIETY KASHMIR
FROM :
DR. N.L. ZUTSHI, Mumbai



**Late Prime Minister
Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto
Greets Hashim Qureshi
in Lahore, 1971.**